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MARYLAND
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Editor's Notebook

Centrifugal Force

The trend toward dividing us one from another continues, sometimes with the best of intentions. Recently a major Baltimore cultural institution hired a market research firm to survey its members' attitudes and interests. The results, based on a humongous questionnaire, presumably help the institution with vital fund-raising and planning of suitable programs for its varied constituencies. The diligent respondent who plowed through to the end checked an identity box: African American, Asian American, European American, Hispanic American, Native American, or Other. There are a number of perplexities about this. For one, the old standby Caucasian, which had the virtue of combining both western and eastern Europe antecedents — all the way indeed to Viadivostok — was replaced by European American. The inventive questionnaire writer was not prepared to go with Amerindian in place of Native American, thereby missing a chance to give back to all, of whatever race, who were born in this country their native-born Americanism. That's just as well perhaps. Nativism has a bad name: from the Know Nothings of the nineteenth century to today's California's Native Son license plates, it has meant exclusion. Those of us who are not Amerindians might not use native American sensibly if we had it back.

Why are we asked, in this and similar cases, to check such boxes at all? Does the cultural institution really intend to present programs *pari passu* across the spectrum of the categories? Or is their questionnaire a new metastasis of political correctness? Each time we check a box we perniciously separate ourselves from all other Americans. I spent Election Day in the State of Washington, where a state legislator named Gary Locke, whose family has been American for generations, was elected governor handily. As soon as he appeared on television, the network anchors, surprised by his Amerasian features, started chattering about, wow, the election of a Chinese American in a mainland state. Why do we tolerate this? It's glorious for Americans to remember and celebrate their myriad heritages. Some of our minorities have historic grievances. But excessive use of adjectives in front of the noun American solves no problems and drives us apart.

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I have been honored to direct this magazine for two volumes (1995 and 1996). Now I am pleased to turn over the reins to Dr. Robert I. Cottom, who for the past seven years has handled, through his independent publishing operation in Baltimore, the production and design of the magazine and contributed significantly on the editorial side. Dr. Cottom received his doctorate in history from the Johns Hopkins University after service in Vietnam. He is senior author of *Maryland in the Civil War*, published by MHS, and was a research associate of

Robert J. Brugger in the preparation of *Maryland: A Middle Temperament*. He lectures widely on Maryland and Civil War history and is presently preparing for publication by MHS a volume of letters exchanged between a wounded Union veteran of Chancellorsville, based in Baltimore, and the home front in Plainfield, New Jersey. This venerable magazine, published without a break since 1906 and well respected throughout the United States, continues in good hands indeed.

In the past two years a concerted effort has been made to increase the vivacity of the magazine while maintaining high standards for fresh and sound scholarship. We have greatly increased the illustrative content, which has rested largely on the invaluable research work of Patricia Dockman Anderson, who, happily, will continue her good work in 1997.

At this time of transition I thank Director Dennis A. Fiori, the MHS Board of Trustees, and the MHS Publications Committee for unstinting support of this periodical and recognition of its importance in reaching MHS members and many other readers far beyond 201 West Monument Street in Baltimore. My warm thanks go as well to all of the supportive staff of MHS, especially to Robert Schoeberlein, Jeff Goldman, Angela Anthony, and Donna Shear, all of whom make direct and important contributions outside the demands of their regular MHS staff positions. Christopher T. George, Jane Cushing Lange, and Robin Donaldson Coblentz, our volunteer associates who check our proofs and routinely save us from editorial gaffes, are also greatly appreciated.

E.L.S.

Cover

Catonsville, Baltimore County

Catonsville, one of Baltimore County's oldest communities, arose on land owned in colonial times by the Baltimore Iron Works. When the company's owners divided the property in 1810, Charles Carroll of Carrollton gained title to land on the Frederick Turnpike that he then turned over to his daughter and son-in-law, Mary and Richard Caton. Caton divided the property into leasehold lots that quickly attracted settlers. This quiet area of western Baltimore County soon prospered with the business brought by the turnpike carrying traffic between the growing city and the rich agricultural lands to the west. This undated photograph was taken by award-winning pictorialist Emily Spencer Hayden (1869–1949), a lifelong resident of Catonsville. (Maryland Historical Society.)

P.D.A.

The George Washington Memorial Parkway along the Potomac bluffs in Arlington County, Virginia. (Photograph by Abbie Rowe, National Park Service.)

A Partially Fulfilled Dream: The George Washington Memorial Parkway in Maryland

BARRY MACKINTOSH

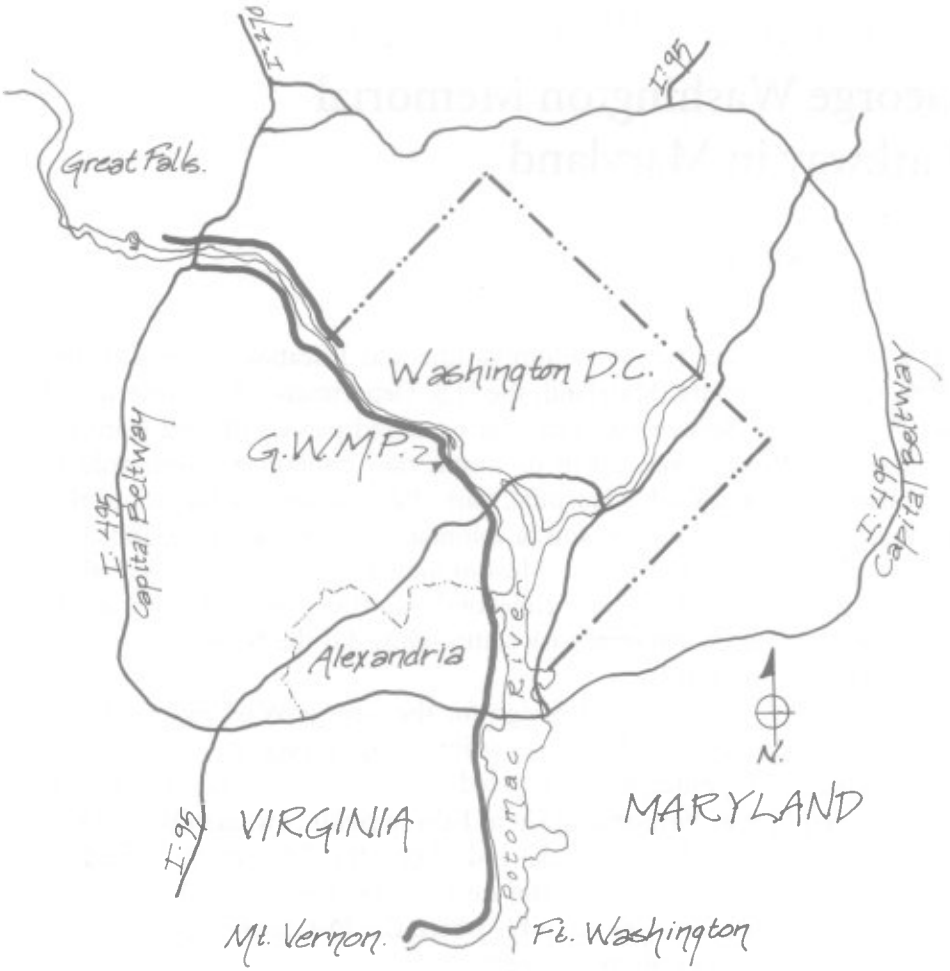
Between the District of Columbia line and Piscataway Creek in Prince George's County, Maryland, the U.S. Department of the Interior's National Park Service holds five unconnected parcels of land fronting on the Potomac River. From north to south, they contain a century-old farm once used by St. Elizabeth's Hospital, part of a residential subdivision, the remains of an earthen Civil War fort, a colonial-period brick house, and an early nineteenth-century masonry fort. Most of these features are of historical interest, but neither individually nor collectively do they possess the national significance required for national park status. How did the NPS come to acquire these disparate holdings?

The answer lies in the grand design for the George Washington Memorial Parkway, the greatest scenic preservation project ever envisioned for the Washington metropolitan area. Intended to conserve both banks of the Potomac between Mount Vernon and Great Falls in public ownership, the GWMP was largely completed in Virginia and above the District of Columbia in Montgomery County, Maryland. But nothing resembling a parkway ever materialized in Prince George's County, where the five discrete parcels in NPS hands are the project's only visible legacy.

The Parkway Concept

The GWMP scheme emerged in the late 1920s from the drawing boards of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission (NCP&PC), established by Congress in 1926 and charged with planning and acquiring land for an expanded regional park system. One of its members, the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., had served in 1901 on the Senate Park (or McMillan) Commission. Best known for reviving and extending Pierre L'Enfant's plan for Washington's monumental core, the McMillan Commission also advocated a scenic highway to Mount Vernon in Virginia and a "Potomac Drive" to Great Falls, judged "as well worth preservation for their grandeur

Barry Mackintosh is bureau historian for the National Park Service in Washington, D.C. He wrote about the aborted C&O Canal Parkway in the Summer 1995 issue of MdHM.



The GWMP roads completed in Maryland and Virginia. (Map by Edward Lupyak, Historic American Engineering Record, National Park Service.)

and natural beauty as the greater passages of scenery in the national parks of the West." The Potomac Drive was to extend along the Maryland riverbank above Washington and encompass all the land to the top of the bluffs "to prevent objectionable occupancy."[1]

The road from Washington to Mount Vernon materialized first. As with many public works before and since, an anniversary provided the necessary patriotic stimulus. In May 1928, Congress directed the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, working through the federal Bureau of Public Roads, to complete a "suitable memorial highway" for the 1932 bicentennial. Officially designated the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway, it was in fact a parkway.

Following the precedent of the Bronx River Parkway completed in New York's Westchester County in 1923, its landscape design received at least as much attention as its transportation function. Parkways of this kind were not conceived of primarily as roads but as attenuated parks with roads through them, intended more to conserve and enable public enjoyment of natural scenery than to speed traffic from point to point.[2]

Interest in parkway development upriver was stimulated in the 1920s by Army Corps of Engineers and power company proposals to dam the Potomac above Chain Bridge for flood control and hydroelectric power. A majority on the National Capital Park and Planning Commission opposed these plans, favoring instead park treatment of the natural valley. They had an important ally in Representative Louis C. Cramton of Michigan, chairman of the House subcommittee responsible for appropriations to the Interior Department and related agencies, including the NCP&PC and the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital.

In December 1928, Cramton introduced a bill prepared with the help of Lieutenant Colonel Ulysses S. Grant III, NCP&PC's executive officer (and the general's grandson), to further the commission's park objectives. With minor amendments, it ultimately passed Congress and received President Herbert Hoover's signature on May 29, 1930.[3] The Capper-Cramton Act (Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas shepherded the bill through the Senate as chairman of its District of Columbia Committee) authorized $7.5 million for a George Washington Memorial Parkway on both sides of the Potomac. In Virginia it was to incorporate the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway and extend upriver to Great Falls; parallel acquisition and development would occur in Maryland from Great Falls down to Fort Washington, diagonally across the Potomac from Mount Vernon. A bridge at Great Falls was to link the two parkway segments. Land acquisition costs in each state would be shared equally by the federal government and the state. (Because of this state participation requirement, the parkway on the Maryland side would not run through Washington, D.C., but would link with other roads there.)

The act charged the NCP&PC with acquiring the lands and turning them over to the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks for administration and development. In addition to receiving the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway upon its completion, Public Buildings and Public Parks was also to receive three old river defenses for the parkway when the War Department no longer needed them: Fort Hunt near Mount Vernon and Fort Washington and Fort Foote in Prince George's County. When Public Buildings and Public Parks was abolished in a government reorganization in 1933, the National Park Service inherited its responsibilities for the parkway.

Early Progress

Initial attention focused on the Virginia riverfront above Arlington Memorial Bridge, the northern terminus of the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway. This area received priority because it would enable a useful extension of the Mount Vernon road, completed as planned in 1932, and because it was most immediately threatened by private development. The NCP&PC allocated $50,000 from its 1931 appropriation and Virginia and Arlington County each put up $25,000 for land acquisition there, establishing the pattern for later matching contributions from the state. In 1934, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who also headed the Public Works Administration, approved a $278,000 PWA allotment to begin building the parkway road some two miles from Arlington Memorial Bridge to Spout Run.[4] Additional funds were slow in coming, World War II intervened, and this segment was not completed until 1950.

In Montgomery County, Maryland, the most significant GWMP acquisition during this period was the defunct Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. Its owner, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, sold it to the government in September 1938 for $2 million (which was credited against the railroad's debt to the federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation). The government payment came from a Public Works Administration allotment under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, which authorized an array of Depression-relief public works activities including land acquisition for parkways.[5] Although not acquired with the help of state matching funds under the Capper-Cramton Act, the canal property from the District of Columbia line to Great Falls fell within the authorized boundaries of the GWMP and was treated as part of it.

Using Civilian Conservation Corps labor, the NPS promptly set about restoring the twenty-two miles of the canal below Seneca for historical and recreational purposes. This activity galvanized local interest in the parkway project. In 1939 the Maryland General Assembly authorized a $150,000 bond issue for land in Montgomery County, and Congress followed with a matching appropriation. In 1941 the state and federal governments provided another $400,000, then thought to be enough to buy the remaining land needed for the parkway in the county.[6]

The parkway planners initially envisioned using existing roads for most of the distance between Washington and Great Falls in Virginia to avoid costly and damaging construction along the Virginia palisades. The Capper-Cramton Act therefore specified a new road in Maryland only, and it required the state to pay half the construction cost. Ironically, the Virginia road was able to proceed entirely at federal expense despite the lack of explicit legal authority for it, while the expressly authorized Maryland road was stymied by the requirement for state funding. In 1946, U. S. Grant III, then NCP&PC chairman, urged Congress to lift this requirement, which he called "a very un-

Fort Washington, the planned parkway terminus in Prince George's County, was built between 1815 and 1824 to defend the nation's capital from naval attack. (Photo courtesy National Park Service.)

fortunate and unjust discrimination against the State of Maryland." Congress did so, but another decade would elapse before it provided any money for road construction there.[7]

Prince George's County proved least receptive to the parkway. In the decade following the Capper-Cramton Act the only GWMP acquisitions there were the two old military properties specified for transfer in the act. The War Department relinquished Fort Foote, the smaller of the two, containing a Civil War earthworks, in 1931 and transferred Fort Washington, containing a masonry fort built after the War of 1812 and late-nineteenth-century concrete artillery batteries, in 1940. Just after Pearl Harbor the War Department repossessed Fort Washington for a school for adjutants general, and in 1944–46 the Veterans Administration used part of it for a soldiers' home and hospital. The NPS did not regain full control of the property until 1947.[8]

In Prince George's as in the other jurisdictions, Frederic A. Delano, NCP&PC chairman from 1929 to 1942 (and Franklin Delano Roosevelt's uncle), began the private land acquisition program by encouraging donations from large property owners who might expect to benefit from the planned

parkway road. By 1934 some had shown interest, including Major General William D. Connor, superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy. Not so Sumner Welles, assistant secretary of state and owner of Oxon Hill Manor, a large estate on the bluff opposite Alexandria, Virginia. "If it is the intention of the Commission that the proposed parkway run across my place or any part of my place, I must definitely refuse to let the survey be proceeded with in so far as my property is involved," he wrote Delano that February.[9]

Delano told Welles that his neighbors had offered to donate a 200-foot right-of-way, urged him to reconsider, and hinted at condemnation of the needed land if he did not. "I have not begun to fight," Delano informed his staff.[10] But Welles remained intransigent, the donations—contingent on road construction—failed to materialize, and the parkway planners were forced to route the projected road around Oxon Hill Manor.

Delano wrote Welles again in March 1941 to urge his support for a bill before the Maryland General Assembly authorizing Prince George's County to match a $50,000 federal appropriation for parkway land. Welles was no more cooperative, reiterating his statement to the county's legislators in Annapolis that "the proposed parkway is of no interest to the people of our community nor to the residents of Prince George's County."[11] He may not have spoken for all, but another two decades would elapse before any private land was acquired in the county.

Serving Other Purposes

Not until the mid-1950s—a quarter-century after the Capper-Cramton Act—did GWMP road construction proceed beyond the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway and the two-mile extension upriver to Spout Run in Arlington, Virginia. This belated progress in the 1950s was due less to a revival of interest in the parkway's commemorative and scenic preservation purposes than to its utility in relation to other developments: new highway construction in Montgomery County, Maryland, and a new federal agency headquarters in Fairfax County, Virginia.

In Montgomery County, much of the impetus came from the construction of U.S. Highway 240 (now Interstate 270) between Frederick, Maryland, and Washington. Because this and other components of the nascent interstate highway system were intended to extend into downtown Washington, highway planners sought to use parkland where possible to avoid the cost of displacing urban residences and businesses. For U.S. 240 they favored the western edge of Rock Creek Park. To counter this threat to the national capital's largest natural oasis, the NPS and the National Capital Planning Commission (the NCP&PC's successor in 1952) promoted the Montgomery County leg of the GWMP inside the Capital Beltway as the best way to carry U.S. 240's noncommercial traffic to and from Washington. Congress responded favorably, appropriating the

President Dwight D. Eisenhower opens the parkway extension to CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, November 3, 1959. Left to right: National Capital Parks superintendent Harry T. Thompson, National Park Service director Conrad L. Wirth, Representative Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia, Eisenhower, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst. (Photo by Abbie Rowe, National Park Service.)

$183,000 that the NCPC requested for Montgomery County land in 1955 to enable the NPS to begin work on this road segment.[12]

A month later, Congress authorized the Central Intelligence Agency to build a new headquarters on a large tract held by the Bureau of Public Roads near the Potomac River in Langley, Virginia. Because existing highway access was inadequate, the act also allowed the CIA to transfer $8.5 million to the National Capital Planning Commission and the NPS for land acquisition and road construction needed to extend the parkway to the site.[13] Construction on the five-and-a-half-mile extension got underway in October 1956 and was completed three years later. President Dwight D. Eisenhower cut a ribbon formally opening the road before traveling on it to lay the CIA building's cornerstone on November 3, 1959.

This was not the first time a federal parkway was built to serve a major federal installation. The Baltimore-Washington and Suitland parkways, for which the NPS had assumed responsibility in 1949–1950, had been built during and after World War II to provide swift access from Washington to Fort Meade

and Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland. Though they were attractively landscaped, their purpose was clearly utilitarian. The extended GWMP would still serve commemorative and environmental conservation purposes, but its construction with CIA money for travel to and from CIA headquarters meant that its practical function as a commuter route could no longer be discounted.

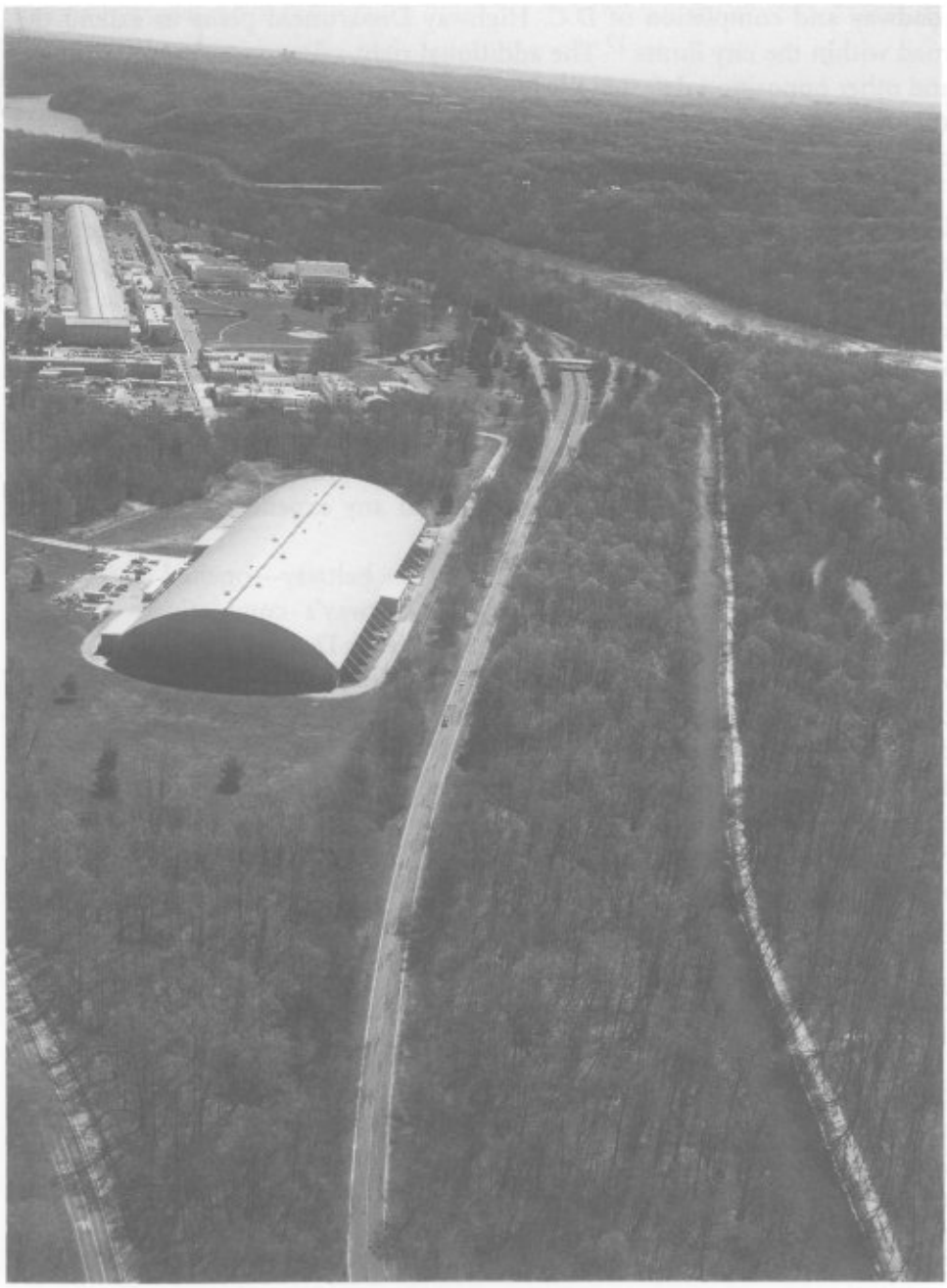
This reality was brought to the parkway custodians' attention a year later when the NPS refused a request from Representative Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia to raise the speed limit on the new road from forty to fifty miles per hour. Broyhill was told that what had been built was a "park road" and that "the primary responsibility of the National Park Service in road construction is to provide means for the park visitor to enjoy the park or parkway characteristics . . . and not primarily to accommodate commuter traffic." The congressman found this reasoning unpersuasive: "We must frankly be realistic about this matter and recognize that this is not an exclusively 'park road' but was constructed to serve commuters to and from the new CIA building at Langley," he replied.[14] The NPS ultimately yielded on the speed limit.

Both the CIA and the Federal Aviation Administration were eager to have the road extended another two miles to the planned Capital Beltway. In addition to serving more CIA commuters, the parkway would thereby become an important link to the future Dulles Airport, scheduled for opening in 1961. Congress was forthcoming with appropriations, and this extension opened to traffic in December 1962.[15]

Building the parkway road in Montgomery County proved more difficult. The presence of the restored C&O Canal and more extensive suburban development left little room for a four-lane road in places, and controversies about extending the road to downtown Washington further complicated and delayed its design and completion.

In March 1954 Justice William O. Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court led a highly publicized hike from Cumberland, Maryland, down the C&O Canal in reaction to an NPS plan to convert much of it above Great Falls to a parkway. The park service's subsequent retreat on the canal parkway scheme encouraged citizen opposition to the GWMP road plan. "This proposed section of 4-lane dual highway on the banks of the C. & O. Canal is one more example of the pernicious philosophy that has grown up in some Government circles since the war that an easy solution to Washington's traffic problems lies in shoving superhighways through our magnificent parks," a spokesman for the D.C. Audubon Society and the Progressive Citizens Association of Georgetown testified before a Senate appropriations subcommittee in April 1955.[16]

Though outwardly committed to the four-lane plan as an alternative to extending U.S. 240 downtown through Rock Creek Park, NPS director Conrad L. Wirth was troubled about its environmental impact. He was therefore willing to construct a single two-lane road for most of the distance below Glen Echo, pending the acquisition of an old trolley right-of-way for the parallel



The parkway road (center) approaches its terminal junction with MacArthur Boulevard (lower left) west of the David Taylor Model Basin in Montgomery County. The C&O Canal is to the right; the Potomac River and the Capital Beltway's Cabin John Bridge across it are visible in the background. To distinguish this road from its Virginia counterpart, Congress in 1989 named it the Clara Barton Parkway in honor of the founder of the American Red Cross, whose Glen Echo home it abuts. (Photo by Jack Boucher, Historic American Engineering Record, National Park Service.)

roadway and completion of D.C. Highway Department plans to extend the road within the city limits.[17] The additional right-of-way was never acquired, and other opposition defeated the highway extension in the late 1960s. As a result, the "temporary" two-lane parkway road between Glen Echo and the end of Canal Road at Chain Bridge, largely completed in 1965, became permanent.

As construction of the four-lane road proceeded from Glen Echo to the Capital Beltway in 1959, the NPS requested money to begin extending it the additional five miles to Great Falls. The request fell under the unsympathetic scrutiny of Representative Michael J. Kirwan of Ohio, chairman of the House subcommittee on Interior Department appropriations, who felt that the Washington area received a disproportionate share of federal park funding. Kirwan was persuaded to support only a mile-and-a-half extension beyond the beltway to an intersection with MacArthur Boulevard, the existing road to Great Falls. At his behest the 1960 Interior appropriations act and those that followed through the 1960s expressly barred any expenditures to build the road beyond that point.[18]

Significantly, the short extension beyond the beltway—opened to traffic in November 1964, three months after the beltway's completion—was just enough to serve commuters to and from the navy's David Taylor Model Basin, which had contributed land for the parkway and had long pressed for road construction. Even without the congressional ban, there would have been little pressure to build the road further. MacArthur Boulevard provided generally adequate access to Great Falls. Because enough land had already been acquired to protect the riverfront in the area from adverse development, a road was no longer needed as a catalyst for that primary parkway purpose. And the beltway's Cabin John Bridge across the Potomac left little need for the planned parkway bridge at Great Falls, the road's original destination.

Congress Applies the Brakes

On the Virginia side, almost no land beyond the beltway had been acquired by the time the parkway road terminated there in 1962, and the prospect of the road's extension acted as a deterrent rather than a spur to land acquisition. Opposition expressed by conservationists and landowners at a 1957 Senate appropriations committee hearing led the committee to disapprove GWMP acquisition funds that the National Capital Planning Commission had requested for both Fairfax County and Maryland's Prince George's County, which finally had decided to participate in buying land there. Noting that the Capper-Cramton authorization was twenty-seven years old and that the areas in question had meanwhile undergone development, it called for a review of "the desirability and need for the extension of the parkway into these areas."[19]

At the resulting hearing before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee that July, NPS and NCPC representatives proposed to improve the exist-

ing Virginia Route 193 from the beltway to Great Falls rather than build a new four-lane road along the bluffs overlooking the river as previously planned. Although this mollified at least one of the affected landowners, the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors voted in June 1958 to oppose any federal land acquisition beyond the beltway. The committee thereupon advised the NCPC to defer the parkway extension there while proceeding in the apparently receptive Prince George's County.[20]

When NCPC director William E. Finley returned to the House subcommittee on Interior appropriations for Prince George's land money, however, he faced the hostile Chairman Kirwan. After eliciting Finley's estimate that another $8 million would be needed to build the road in the county once the land was acquired for $2 million, Kirwan welcomed opposing testimony from the Broad Creek Citizens Association, comprising property owners in the recently approved Broadwater Estates subdivision on Broad Creek Bay. Their spokesman complained that the NCPC had lately relocated the parkway road through their land without informing them, that its land cost estimates were unreasonably low, and that the road was unnecessary because its terminus, Fort Washington, was adequately served by existing roads.[21]

Given Kirwan's attitude, his committee's disapproval of the Prince George's appropriation was foreordained. "Although such a Parkway would be desirable from an aesthetic standpoint, adequate roads now service this general area and the Committee feels strongly that the Federal expenditure of over $10,000,000 that would be required to complete the project cannot be justified in the light of the many essential demands on the Federal treasury," it reported. "The Committee . . . wishes it clearly understood that it does not plan to consider any further request for appropriations for this purpose."[22]

The NCPC nevertheless returned to Kirwan's subcommittee in February 1959 to request $1.5 million for GWMP land in Prince George's County, Maryland, and at Great Falls in Fairfax County, Virginia. It contended that Congress had denied the Prince George's appropriation the year before "through a misunderstanding of the original purpose of the George Washington Memorial Parkway," having evaluated the parkway as a transportation corridor rather than a means of protecting and ensuring public access to the Potomac riverbank.[23]

Kirwan did not appreciate this argument. Venting his growing displeasure with the volume of federal park and parkway projects in the Washington area, he suggested that Maryland could assume responsibility for the Prince George's segment. When the NCPC director pleaded with him to "agree with this parkway in principle as does everyone else in this region," Kirwan cut him off: "Mr. Finley, I do not doubt that everyone in this region will agree with you. They are not insane in Ohio either. If they could ever get Federal money for a parkway like this in Ohio, that is one thing we would get something like an Ivory soap vote on. . . . Why would they not want it if they are going to get a soft touch from Uncle Sam?"[24]

The chairman was no more enthusiastic about the Fairfax appropriation, suggesting that Virginia could acquire the Great Falls acreage as a state park. His committee disapproved the requests for both counties, finding "no justification for making Federal appropriations for non-essential projects of this nature at a time when the Nation is faced with a critical budgetary situation." Noting that there were already more than 42,000 acres of federal parkland in the Washington area, the committee concluded that additional park projects "should be the financial responsibility of the local jurisdictions involved."[25] Representative Richard E. Lankford of Maryland, representing Prince George's County, tried to restore the Prince George's appropriation on the House floor. He read a letter from Louis Cramton, now eighty-four and a member of the Michigan legislature, urging completion of the GWMP. But Kirwan held firm. The only parkway components then underway were needed for transportation purposes between the beltway and Washington, he noted. There was no such need in southern Prince George's. Kirwan also found Fort Washington an unworthy destination for the parkway on historical grounds: U.S. forces had ignominiously abandoned the site when the British advanced on Washington in 1814. The House rejected Lankford's amendment, and an effort by Senator J. Glenn Beall of Maryland to restore the money in the Senate failed as well.[26]

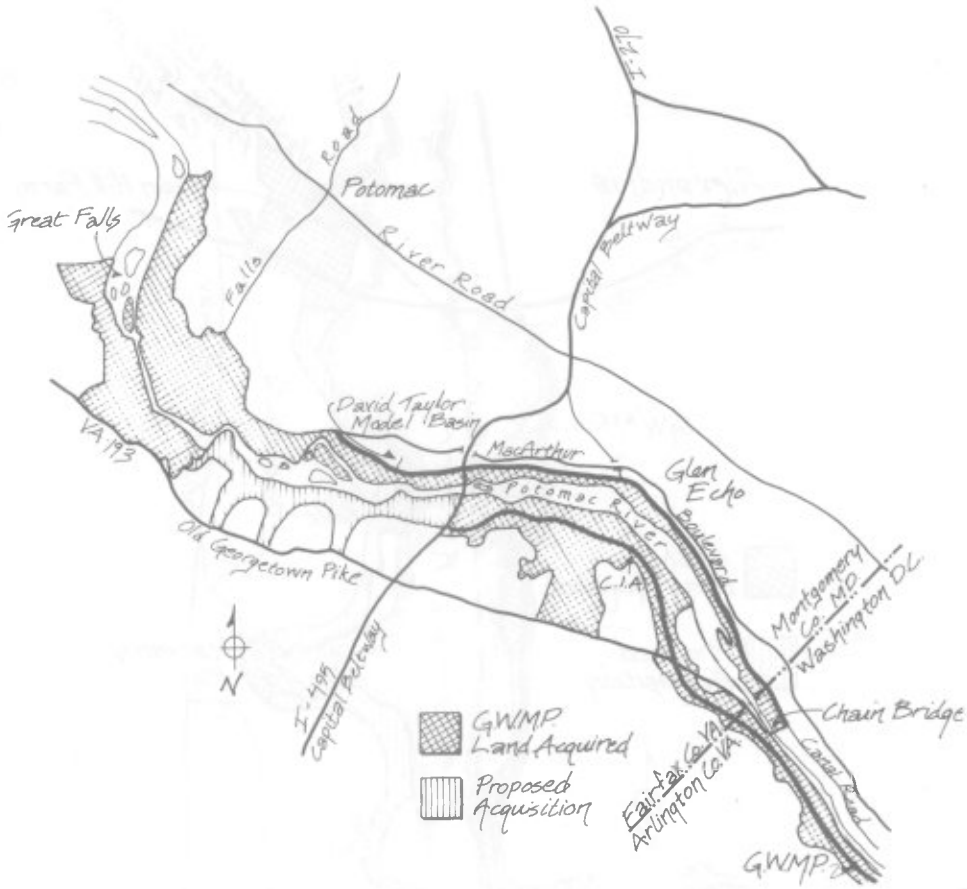
The NPS did acquire some land in Prince George's in 1959. In June of that year the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which administered St. Elizabeth's Hospital, signed an agreement with the NCPC and the Interior Department transferring St. Elizabeth's Farm to the GWMP's authority.[27]

In January 1960, Finley returned to Kirwan's subcommittee to request $250,000 for 240 acres at the Prince George's end of the beltway's Woodrow Wilson Bridge, adjoining the St. Elizabeth's Farm acquisition. Assuring the subcommittee that the NCPC had given up on the parkway to Fort Washington, Finley said the purchase was necessary to prevent undesirable development of the prominent shoreline acreage. The county commissioners had agreed to match the appropriation.[28] Congress readily approved this request.

Renewed Hopes

When President John F. Kennedy and his activist Interior secretary, Stewart L. Udall, took office in 1961, parkway proponents renewed their hopes for progress in Prince George's. Charles B. MacDonald of the Swan Creek Citizens Association, a leader of the pro-parkway forces in the county, met with Udall that May and persuaded him to go to bat for the project. In turn, Udall elicited a supporting letter from Kennedy:

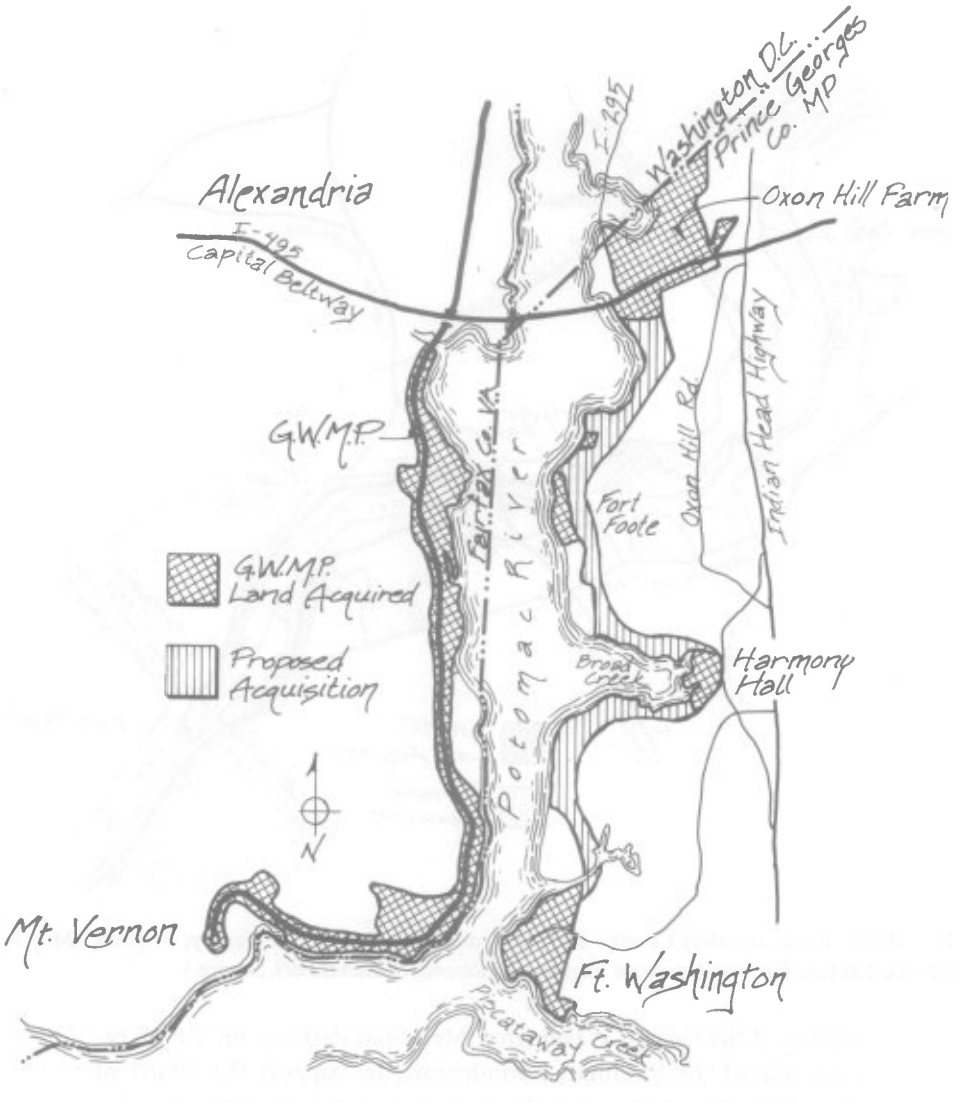
> I am hopeful that this year—before it is too late—Congress will provide sufficient matching funds so that this Administration can commence acquisition of the lands needed for the remaining 7.5 mile



The GWMP in Montgomery County, Maryland, and adjoining Fairfax County, Virginia. (Map by Edward Lupyak, Historic American Engineering Record, National Park Service.)

> section of the George Washington Memorial Parkway on the Maryland side of the Potomac. I wholeheartedly support the efforts of your Department to secure the monies required to commence this acquisition program, and I hope that you will make a final, strenuous effort to secure the necessary Congressional action this year.[29]

Enclosing copies of the president's letter, Udall wrote all congressional appropriations committee members to urge their support for a $1.5 million addition for Prince George's in a forthcoming House-Senate conference. Evidently the conferees were unimpressed. They slashed the appropriation to $500,000 and specified that it could be used only to enlarge the existing Fort Washington and Fort Foote holdings and to acquire a sixty-six-acre property between them on Broad Creek, containing Harmony Hall, a colonial house. The appropriation would also enable purchase of about five acres of the River Bend subdivi-



The GWMP in Prince George's County, Maryland, and adjoining Fairfax County, Virginia. (Map by Edward Lupyak, Historic American Engineering Record, National Park Service.)

sion fronting the Potomac just north of Fort Foote. These purchases were not to be used for a parkway road, nor could any NPS money be used for planning or building one in the county.[30]

On the House floor, Representative Lankford said he was "keenly disappointed that the conferees . . . have chosen to disregard the often-expressed intent of Congress to complete the magnificent scenic drive here in the Nation's Capital in memory of George Washington. The splendidly envisioned Capper-Cramton Act of thirty-one years' standing is now only a partially fulfilled

dream." Both houses approved the amended appropriation bill, however, and Kennedy signed it that August.[31] Congress repeated the prohibition against GWMP road construction in Prince George's in Interior Department appropriation acts through the 1960s.

The lands still most wanted for the parkway were those adjoining Great Falls in Fairfax County: sixteen acres held by the Fairfax County Park Authority and nearly eight hundred acres held by the Potomac Electric Power Company (PEPCO). NPS director Conrad Wirth called the PEPCO tract "the most important potential park property in the Washington area." In 1960 the Interior Department and PEPCO agreed to seek Congressional approval for the NPS to acquire this tract in exchange for excess land it held near the Baltimore-Washington Parkway in Prince George's County. The NPS later negotiated an agreement with the county park authority to acquire its land in exchange for parking fee revenues equal to the land's value. Congress passed and President Lyndon B. Johnson signed legislation authorizing these transactions in 1965. The NPS obtained the two tracts the next year, achieving custody of the parkway's northern terminus in Virginia as well as in Maryland.[32]

Another Try

In February 1965, on Secretary Udall's recommendation, President Johnson asked Congress for action to clean up the Potomac River, protect its natural beauty by land controls, and "complete the presently authorized George Washington Memorial Parkway on both banks." Appearing before the House subcommittee on Interior Department appropriations in February 1966, NPS director George B. Hartzog, Jr., testified that all parties concerned with the parkway in Prince George's County had reached agreement on its location "except for a few people whose properties are involved." The alignment had been modified to avoid taking any houses from Broad Creek to Fort Washington; those whose houses would be taken elsewhere would be offered life estates.[33]

"I believe for the preservation of the scenic and historic values of the Potomac River Basin, for the beauty, for the development, for the integrity of our Nation's Capital, this parkway is desperately needed from 495 [the beltway] to Fort Washington," Hartzog told the subcommittee. He asked for $525,000 to build a 2,500-seat covered amphitheater at Fort Washington for a historical drama on the location and development of the capital. This added attraction at the parkway's destination became another argument for the parkway: "A scenic drive along the waterfront is part of the story," NPS regional director T. Sutton Jett testified.[34]

Representative Winfield K. Denton of Indiana, Kirwan's successor as subcommittee chairman, was unsympathetic to this idea. He was no happier when NCPC representatives appeared before him a month later seeking $6.1 million to complete GWMP land acquisition in Prince George's and Fairfax

counties. "It just isn't fair to the rest of the taxpayers of the United States" to build more roads in the wealthy Washington area entirely at federal expense, he declared. Reflecting his views, the appropriations committee disapproved both the amphitheater and land acquisition requests. "The Committee is in favor of the construction of scenic parkways in our National Parks that can be enjoyed by park visitors," it reported, "but it opposes the construction with National Park Service funds of roads that will be used in the main part for commuting and transportation," as were the completed GWMP roads in Virginia and Montgomery County.[35]

At the same time, the Maryland General Assembly authorized Prince George's County to issue bonds to match the federal contribution for parkway land but specified that none of the revenue could be used for the riverfront between Broad Creek and Fort Washington held by the dissenting Broadwater Estates property owners. An alternative inland alignment was unacceptable to the NCPC and the NPS because it would not protect the shoreline (notwithstanding that the parkway had been run inland to avoid disturbing two expensive riverfront developments in Virginia). Noting this disagreement, the Senate Appropriations Committee concurred with its House counterpart.[36]

Foiled Again

"We have been foiled again by a limited number of diehard parkway opponents and their thousands of dollars for lobbyists, their utter disregard for the public interest, their design to despoil the Potomac River shoreline and profit by their landholdings, their vendetta against everyone who backs the parkway, their provincialism and their own selfish interests," Representative Hervey G. Machen of Maryland fumed on the House floor that August. He introduced a bill to authorize completion of the parkway in Prince George's County and succeeded in having it referred to the House Public Works Committee—chaired by his Maryland colleague George H. Fallon—rather than to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, which considered most park-related legislation. Eventually the committee included the bill's substance in the omnibus bill authorizing federal highway appropriations for the 1970 and 1971 fiscal years.[37]

Of the $7.5 million that the Capper-Cramton Act had authorized for GWMP land acquisition, some $3.6 million remained to be appropriated for needed lands in Prince George's and Fairfax counties. The Machen bill reserved the entire balance for Prince George's, transferred land acquisition responsibility there to the NPS, and provided that only scenic easements or development rights would be acquired from most private riverfront owners, allowing them to remain undisturbed. When push came to shove, the parkway advocates were more concerned about protecting the shoreline from adverse development than gaining full control of it and ensuring public access to it.[38]

The Clara Barton Parkway at Glen Echo in Montgomery County, where the eastbound roadway was tucked beneath a cantilevered section of the westbound roadway to save an historic C&O Canal lockhouse. (Photo by the author.)

"Considerable confusion for motorists has been created by the fact that the parkway exists under the same name on both sides of the river," the committee report stated. "To eliminate that confusion, the committee recommends that the parkway in Prince George's County be renamed the Fort Washington Parkway." The new name was also an attempt to circumvent the continuing prohibition in the annual Interior Department appropriations acts against planning and building the GWMP in Prince George's. The Fort Washington Parkway authorization was enacted as part of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968.[39]

In March 1969, George Hartzog asked the Interior Department appropriations subcommittees for $300,000 to help buy thirteen acres for the Fort Washington Parkway. "Isn't that an old chestnut under a new name?" inquired Senator Alan Bible of Nevada, the Senate subcommittee chairman. "Yes, sir, I think it is," the NPS director replied. "This is the George Washington Memorial Parkway in Prince George's County, which was reauthorized last year. . . . Basically what we wound up getting is a right-of-way through a subdivision, which will permit us to build a road, a parkway, between a county

road and Indian Head Highway [north of Broad Creek]. The rest of this area will simply be for protection of the riverfront, the shoreland."[40]

But the Prince George's delegation in the Maryland General Assembly declined to support the bond issue needed for the local land purchase contribution, causing the appropriations committees to deny the requested federal money. It was the last straw. On June 19, 1969, Hartzog announced that the NPS was abandoning efforts to acquire land for the Fort Washington Parkway.[41]

The Unfulfilled Dream

NPS acquisition of the Great Falls, Virginia, lands in 1966 left in private hands about three miles of the Virginia riverbank between there and the GWMP road terminus at the beltway. Although the property owners and Fairfax County authorities succeeded in keeping the NCPC and the NPS from filling this significant gap in the parkway, they were sympathetic to the parkway's scenic preservation objective. In the mid-1960s the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority began acquiring voluntary scenic easements on land in the area, including the large Madeira School property at the upstream end of the gap. At the downstream end, the county acquired a 336-acre estate with nearly a mile of river frontage for park purposes in 1970.[42]

Though such measures effectively served the uncompleted parkway's purpose in Fairfax County, giving it virtual continuity there, nothing comparable occurred in Prince George's. No serious attempt was made at any level to revive the riverfront protection effort to Fort Washington after 1969. The five parcels acquired and still held by the NPS comprise only about 640 of the 2,100-odd acres last sought for the parkway there.

Why did the parkway fail in Prince George's? At the end, with insufficient local support to counter persistent local opposition, it had degenerated to something that its weary proponents were no longer willing to fight for. More fundamentally, however, its failure was due to its relative uselessness.

Functional transportation needs associated with the CIA headquarters, the David Taylor Model Basin, and the Capital Beltway and U.S. 240 caused the GWMP to be completed as far as it was in Virginia and Montgomery County. Both of those legs became important links between the beltway and downtown Washington. In Prince George's, on the other hand, the projected parkway lay almost entirely outside the beltway and would have served no major commuter destination. (Because the riverfront land between the beltway and downtown was largely within the District of Columbia, it was not subject to GWMP acquisition under the Capper-Cramton Act and instead became the route of an interstate highway spur.) The parkway's scenic preservation benefits were never joined by sufficient utilitarian benefits to justify its cost.

In 1966 the House Appropriations Committee declined to fund more GWMP land acquisition in Prince George's on grounds that the completed

segments in Virginia and Montgomery County had become commuter arteries as much as scenic parkways. Ironically, only when those segments were needed to serve commuters were they built. Although the parkway was supposed to be primarily a park with a road through it, it progressed most when the road took precedence. At bottom, it was the lack of practical need for such a road in Prince George's that doomed the parkway there.

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10. Delano to Welles, February 7, 1934, ibid.; Delano notation on letter from William D. Connor, February 9, 1934, ibid.

11. Delano to Welles, March 21, 1941, Box 10, ibid.; Welles to Delano, March 22, 1941, ibid.
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13. Public Law 84-161, July 15, 1955, U.S. *Statutes at Large*, 69:349.
14. George W. Abbott to Broyhill, November 25, 1960, file 1460/GWMP, Va., NCP, WNRC; Broyhill to Abbott, November 29, 1960, ibid.
15. B. D. Tallamy to Harland Bartholomew, May 29, 1959, file 545-100/GWMP, Fairfax County, Va., Box 131, Record Group 328; file 1460/GWMP, Va., NCP, WNRC.
16. See Barry Mackintosh, "Shootout on the Old C&O Canal: The Great Parkway Controversy," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 90 (Summer 1995): 141–163; testimony of Neill Phillips in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Interior Department and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1956, Hearings* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955), 879.
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29. Udall to Frederick G. Dutton, June 6, 1961, file 545-100/GWMP, Prince George's County, Md., Box 130, Record Group 328, National Archives; Kennedy to Udall, June 19, 1961, ibid.

30. Udall to Senator Carl Hayden, et al., June 28, 1961, ibid.; House Report 797, 87th Congress, July 26, 1961, 9.

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33. *Natural Beauty of Our Country,* House Document 78, 89th Congress, February 8, 1965, 6; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1967, Hearings* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966), 646.

34. House *Interior Appropriations Hearings, 1967,* 662–663, 691. Jett said that the state and county had agreed to underwrite the costs of the pageant, to be written by Paul Greene.

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37. *Congressional Record,* 112:19112; House Report 1584, 90th Congress, June 25, 1968.

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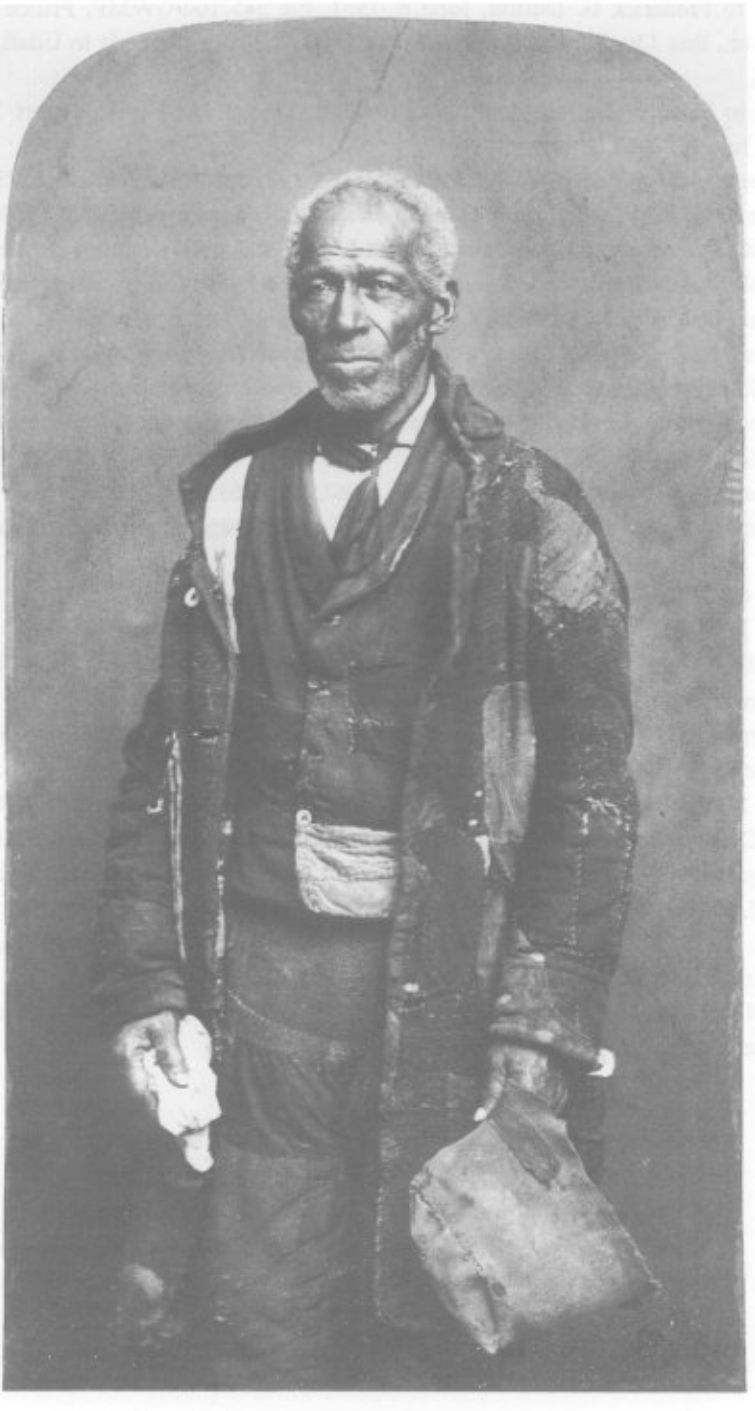

George R. Roberts, shown here many years later, was a Baltimore African American who served aboard American privateers throughout the War of 1812, including Thomas Boyle's Chasseur *in 1814–1815. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

Mirage of Freedom: African Americans in the War of 1812

CHRISTOPHER T. GEORGE

Frank A. Cassell, writing in 1972, estimated that three to five thousand black slaves from Virginia and Maryland fled to the British in the War of 1812 and were transported to British possessions, notably to Nova Scotia and the West Indies. Some two hundred former slaves in the Chesapeake region even donned the scarlet uniform of "Colonial Marines" to fight for the British against the United States, and a number of blacks helped the enemy by serving as guides. Yet, Cassell says, "even when confronted with overwhelming evidence that substantial numbers of slaves were not only fiercely determined to escape but also willing and able to join a foreign enemy in fighting their former masters, white southerners did not abandon their faith in the institution of slavery or their conceptions about the characters of slaves."[1]

Winthrop D. Jordan, in his seminal *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812,* observes that the overwhelming view of southern whites was that African Americans were inferior human beings, indeed were perhaps less than human, and were contented and genial[2]—surprising perceptions in the face of slaves fleeing to the British and widespread fear of slave plots and rebellions such as that fomented by Gabriel Prosser in Richmond in 1800.

Cassell states that proslavery southerners chose to ignore the evidence that there were rebellious slaves who "demonstrated their profound alienation from and antagonism towards a country and a society that professed equality for all while tolerating bondage for some." Moreover, because white southerners held to their conception that their slaves were basically loyal and docile, "in their obtuseness lay the seeds of future tragedy."[3]

Ironically, even whites who worked to better the lot of the Negro thought of the black race not in the context of U.S. society but of sending the African Americans back to Africa or elsewhere, viz., the Colonization Society of Maryland, founded in 1832 to encourage free blacks to return to Africa, which was responsible in large part for the foundation of Liberia.[4]

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It is unfortunate that the black man was not more trusted, understood, and welcomed into American society before the Civil War. If African Americans had been welcomed as full combatants (as opposed to fatigue men, drummers, trumpeters, or servants) into the state militias if not the U.S. Army in the War of 1812, the United States might not have suffered such reverses as the defeat at Bladensburg, which led to the burning of Washington, D.C., on August 24–25, 1814. The southern Maryland county of Prince George's, which includes Bladensburg, had in the 1810 census a population of just over 20,000, including 6,500 whites, 4,900 free blacks, and 9,200 slaves.[5] We can surmise, though not entirely realistically, of course, that if a few thousand able-bodied male African Americans had been trained in arms and added to the U.S. regulars and militia of 6,000, the British army, which only numbered about 4,000, might not have routed the Americans nor enjoyed its relatively unimpeded march of fifty miles through the Prince George's County countryside.

The British commander at Bladensburg, Major General Robert Ross, told his wife in a letter of September 1, 1814, that the Americans "feel strongly the Disgrace of having had their Capital taken by a handful of Men and blame very generally a Government which went to War without the Means or the Abilities to carry it on. . . . The Injury sustained by the City of Washington in the Destruction of its public Buildings has been immense and must disgust the Country with a Government that has left the Capital unprotected."[6]

Obviously, the American reverses in the war cannot be blamed on the fact that African Americans were not called on to help defend the country. Lack of preparation for war by the Madison administration, the small size of the U.S. regular army and navy, and overreliance on the volunteer militia all played a part.[7] It seems nevertheless a supreme irony that although slaves were generally believed to be loyal to their masters, their loyalty to their country was not tested.

This exposes the fallacy of the slave masters' belief in the loyalty of their slaves: deep down, slaveowners knew the slaves could not be trusted to be given arms. Or they clung to their belief in the basic ignorance of the black man. By contrast, partly for their own ends and partly because African Americans of the Chesapeake proved their capabilities fighting in British uniform, leading officers in the British forces frequently noted the intelligence and capabilities of the American blacks they inducted into their ranks.

The questions of slavery and the status of free African Americans in the United States would not be resolved for decades to come, and the situation would not change while the executive and legislative branches of the government were under the influence of southern slaveholding interests. Four of the first five presidents of the United States were southerners as well as slaveowners.

All the same, two of the greatest American successes in the closing months of the War of 1812—the deflection of the British attack on Baltimore on September 12–14, 1814 (during which General Ross was killed) and the British

defeat at New Orleans on January 8, 1815 (during which their generals Pakenham, Gibbs, and Keane perished along with two thousand of their men) —were achieved with the help of African Americans. At Baltimore, under the direction of Major General Samuel Smith, free blacks helped to construct the earthworks that saved the city, and black sailors of the U.S. Navy manned batteries ready to repulse an assault by the enemy.[8] At New Orleans, where black laborers also helped to throw up defensive works, General Andrew Jackson welcomed black freedmen into his fighting forces, African Americans as well as expatriate Haitians.[9]

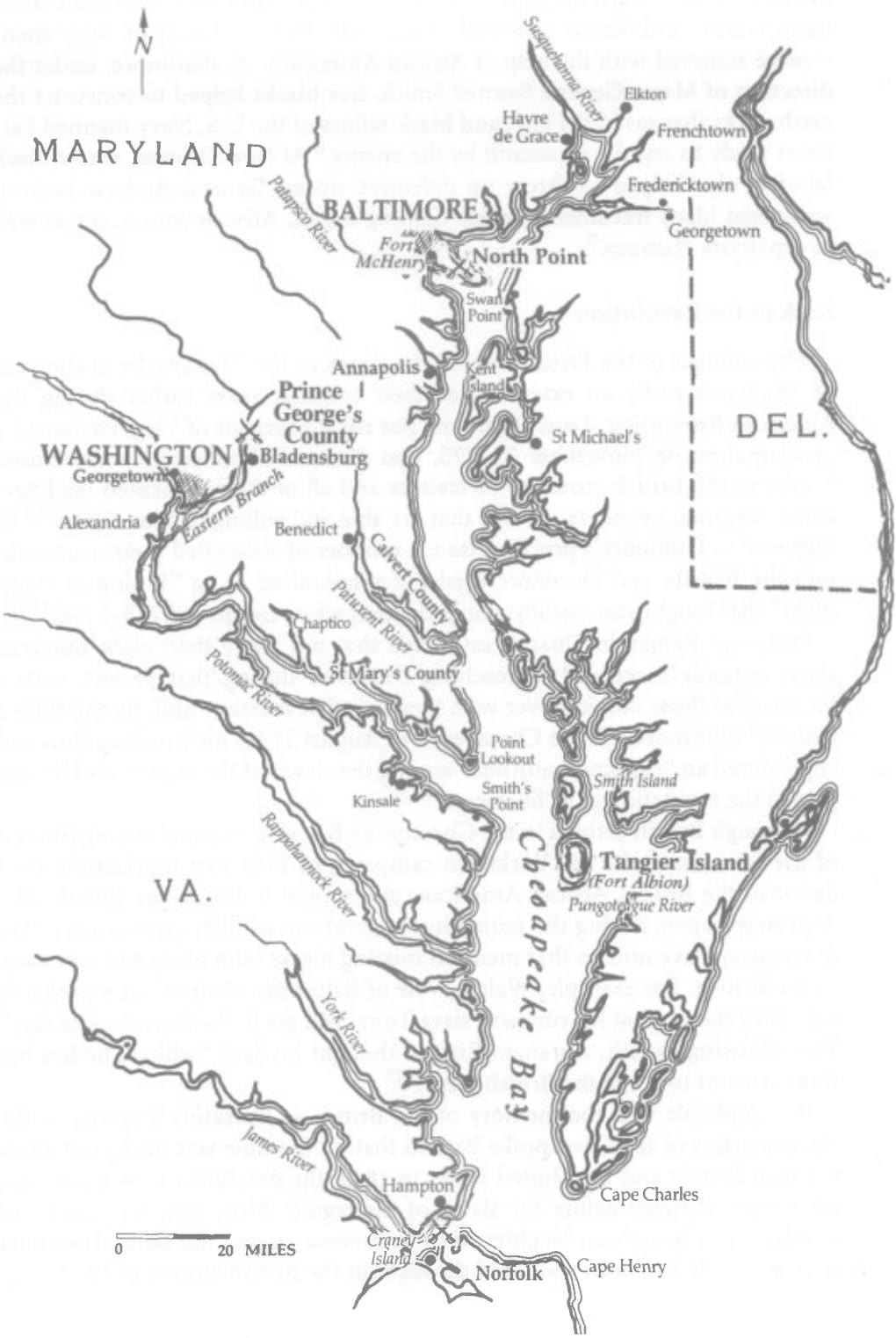
Back to the Revolution

The conduct of the British toward the slaves of the Chesapeake in the War of 1812 was really an extension of their conduct years earlier during the American Revolution. Lord Dunmore, last royal governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation on November 7, 1775, that declared all colonists who refused loyalty to the British crown to be traitors and all of their "indented [sic] Servants, Negroes, or others . . . free that are able and willing to bear Arms."[10] In response to Dunmore's proclamation, a number of slaves fled their masters to join the British, and Dunmore used the able-bodied in an "Ethiopian Regiment" that fought successfully alongside loyal white troops in 1775–1776.[11]

Historian Benjamin Quarles estimated that not more than eight hundred slaves actually succeeded in reaching Dunmore during that period, with a hundred of those coming over with their Loyalist masters. Still, by the time a defeated Dunmore left the Chesapeake in August 1776, his proclamation had engendered an "expectant attitude" among the slaves of the region, and he had gained the reputation of a "liberator."[12]

Although British activity in the Chesapeake Bay was minimal during the rest of the war, except for the Yorktown campaign of 1781 that marked the final defeat of the British, African Americans still sought to flee to the British side. Area newspapers during the remaining years of the conflict carried a number of runaway slave notices that mention missing blacks who likely had run away to the British. For example, Walter Wyle of Baltimore County ran a notice in July 1779 stating that his runaway slave Tom "will get to the English if he can." The following month, Abraham Risteau thought his Jack "will (as he has before) attempt to get to the British army."[13]

It is probable that the memory of the British as liberators lingered in the slave quarters of the Chesapeake Bay, so that by the time war broke out again between Britain and the United States in 1812, the possibility of freedom was once more dangled before the slaves of the region. Moreover, the specter of freedom may have been heightened by awareness among the same slaves that the slave trade had been abolished throughout the British empire in 1807.


N
MARYLAND
Susquehanna River
Elkton
Havre de Grace
Frenchtown
Fredericktown
Georgetown
BALTIMORE
Patapsco River
Fort McHenry
North Point
Swan Point
Annapolis
Kent Island
Prince George's County
St Michael's
DEL.
WASHINGTON
Georgetown
Bladensburg
Alexandria
Eastern Branch
Benedict
Calvert County
Patuxent River
Chaptico
St Mary's County
Potomac River
Point Lookout
Smith's Point
Smith Island
Kinsale
Rappahannock River
Tangier Island
(Fort Albion)
Pungoteague River
VA.
Chesapeake Bay
York River
James River
Hampton
Cape Charles
0
20 MILES
Craney Island
Norfolk
Cape Henry

On No Account Give Encouragement

When the British began operations in the Chesapeake in the spring of 1813, a British army under Colonel Sir Sidney Beckwith was sent to the bay in the hopes of diverting American troops from operations on the Canadian border. Lord Bathurst, the British secretary for war and the colonies, sent Colonel Beckwith a letter that included express instructions not to foment a slave uprising:

> You will on no account give encouragement to any disposition by the Negroes to rise against their Masters. . . . If any Individual Negroes shall in the course of your operations have given you assistance, which may expose them to the vengeance of their Masters after your retreat, you are at liberty on their earnest express desire to take them away with you. You are authorized to enlist them in any of the Black Corps if they are willing to enlist; but you must distinctly understand that you are in no case to take slaves away as Slaves, but as free persons whom the public become bound to maintain.[14]

Despite Bathurst's cautions, as at the time of the Revolution, escaped slaves started to make their way to the British, and British officers found themselves confronted with blacks anxious to leave America. As Cassell notes, "under this pressure, British commanders chose to interpret their orders liberally and to take on board any slave who so requested."[15] In June 1813 the British attacked Norfolk and Hampton in Virginia and in July occupied Point Lookout in southern Maryland. In both Virginia and Maryland, when the British came near, slaves fled in large numbers to their protection.

The escaped slave and freedman Charles Ball, who later served as a cook with Commodore Joshua Barney's Chesapeake Bay flotilla, described the destruction caused by the British raiding parties and the manner in which southern Maryland slaves were taken off:

> In the spring of the year 1813, the British fleet came into the bay, and from this time, the origin of the troubles and distresses of the people of the Western Shore, may be dated. I had been employed at a fishery, near the mouth of the Patuxent, from early in March, until the latter part of May, when a British vessel of war came off the mouth of the river, and sent her boats to drive us away from our fishing

Opposite page: Map of the Chesapeake during the War of 1812 showing key locales where British landing parties raided. As part of their attempt to cripple the economy of the region, the British took away perhaps as many as five thousand African-American slaves during 1813–1814, shipping most to Nova Scotia. About two hundred ex-slaves trained on Tangier Island as British Colonial Marines and fought in engagements from May to September 1814, including Bladensburg and North Point. (Map by the author.)

> ground. There was but little property at the fishery that could be destroyed; but the enemy cut the seines to pieces, and burned the sheds belonging to the place. They then marched up two miles into the country, burned the house of a planter, and brought away with them several cattle, that were found in his fields. They also carried off more than twenty slaves, which were never again restored to their owner; although, on the following day, he went on board the ship, with a flag of truce, and offered a large ransom for these slaves.[16]

It should be noticed that the carrying off of the slaves was part of the total pattern of destruction and robbery practiced by the British in the region. Ball states almost in one breath that "several cattle" were taken *and* that "more than twenty slaves" were carried off. These African Americans were an economic asset to the people of the Chesapeake, just as their cattle and crops were—or indeed the seines and sheds of the fisheries. The intent was to cripple the Americans economically and hinder their ability to carry on the war and, if possible, to use some of the blacks as guides or even as fighters against their old masters.

As early as May 1813 the *National Intelligencer* reported that several Negroes had deserted to the British and "became pilots for them in plundering." This would be a pattern seen throughout the Chesapeake in the following eighteen months, but the same Washington-based newspaper assured its readers that the slaves were basically patriotic and that they "perform their daily labor not as a task enforced by fear . . . but rather under the influence of an instinct which impels them to the voluntary performance of what they are conscious is their duty."[17] The white southerner's belief in the institution of slavery was bolstered by the press even in the face of abundant evidence that slaves fled with ideas of freedom and stalwartly refused attempts to get them to return to bondage.

Ball stated that he was asked to intercede to try to persuade the slaves of a Mrs. Wilson to return. An owner of "more than a hundred slaves," she lost them all in one night, except, he wrote, for one man who chose not to go because he had "a wife and several children on an adjoining estate" who were kept under rigid guard and so could not flee to the British. The escape was effected after two or three of the black men stole a canoe one night and paddled out to a British ship and informed the officer of the ship that their mistress owned over a hundred slaves. The men were advised to return to the plantation and bring the other slaves to the shore the following night, the officer promising "that he would send a detachment of boats to the shore, to bring them off." The escape was accomplished around midnight "partly by persuasion, partly by compulsion" by the first of the black fugitives.

Ball characterized this incident as "the greatest disaster that had befallen any individual in our neighbourhood, in the course of the war." For this reason a

deputation of local gentlemen was gathered for the purpose of retrieving the slaves either by ransom or, it was hoped, by persuasion, since their mistress "had never treated them with great severity." Ball said he was asked to go along to help persuade the "deserters" to return to Mrs. Wilson:

> I [went] along with the flag of truce, in the assumed character of the servant of one of the gentlemen who bore it; but in the real character of the advocate of the mistress, for the purpose of inducing her slaves to return to her service. . . . The whole of the runaways were on board this ship, lounging about on the main deck, or leaning against the sides of the ship's bulwarks. I went amongst them, and talked to them a long time, on the subject of returning home; but found that their heads were full of notions of liberty and happiness in some of the West India islands.

Ball and one gentleman remained on board when the rest of the deputation returned to shore. Ball was instructed to exert himself "to the utmost, to prevail on the runaway slaves to return to their mistress." After lying off Calvert County for two nights, however, the ship sailed for Tangier Island, where "all the black people that were with us" were transferred to a sloop of war.

Ball added that he was asked by the British to go along with the other African Americans (not the only reported instance of attempted coercion on the part of the British):

> I was invited, and even urged to go with the others, who, I was told, were bound to the island of Trinidad, in the West Indies, where they were to be free. I returned many thanks for their kind offers; but respectfully declined them; telling those who made them, that I was already a freeman, and though I owned no land myself, yet I could have plenty of land of other people to cultivate. In the evening, the sloop weighed anchor, and stood down the Bay, with more than two hundred and fifty black people on board. . . . What became of the miserable mass of black fugitives, that this vessel took to sea, I never learned.[18]

By the end of 1813 blacks were still flocking to the British, as evidenced by the following dispatch from Captain Robert Barrie of HMS *Dragon* to Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, written from near Lynnhaven on November 14:

> The Slaves continue to come off by every opportunity and I have now upwards of 120 men, women and Children on board, I shall send about 50 of them to Bermuda in the *Conflict.* Among the Slaves are several very intelligent fellows who are willing to act as local guides should their Services be required in that way, and if their assertions be true, there is no doubt but the Blacks of Virginia & Maryland would

> cheerfully take up Arms & join us against the Americans. Several Flags of Truce have been off to make application for their Slaves . . . but not a single black would return to his former owner.[19]

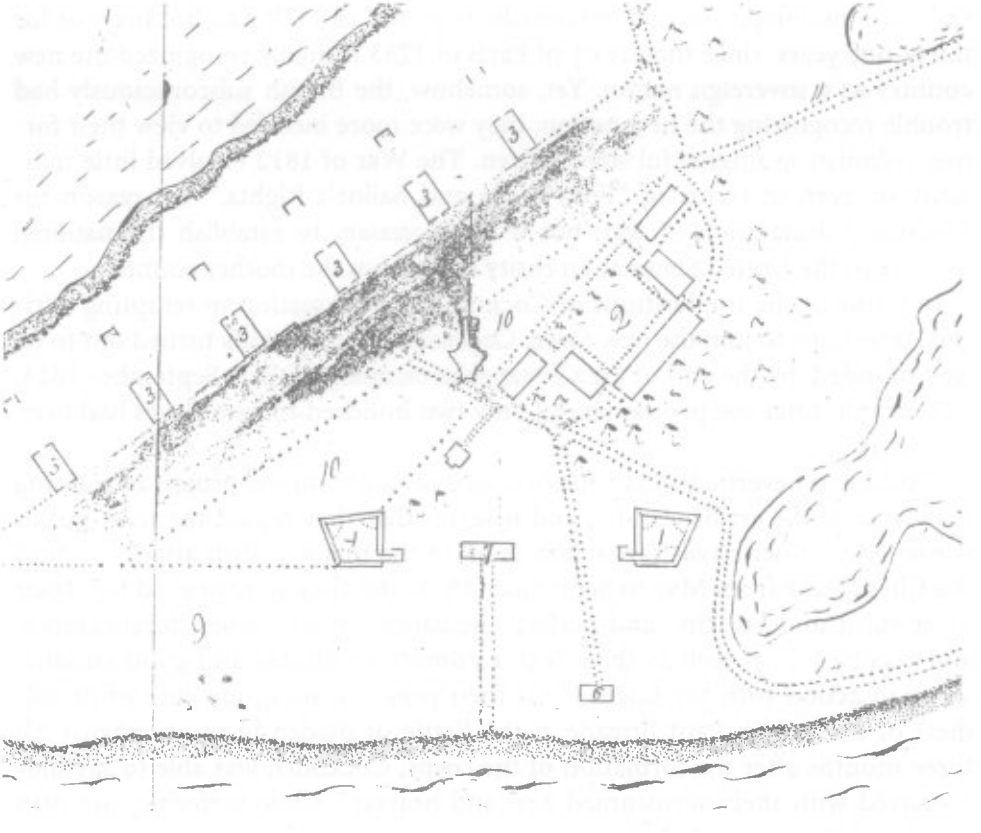
A second British naval captain, writing in more racist terms, described the coming off of the slaves: "Some of their first exclamations were 'me free man, me go cut massa's throat, give me musket,' which many of them did not know how to use. . . . Another favorite expression when we wanted them to work was, 'no, me no work—me free man.'. . . but they considered work and slavery synonymous terms." The officer then turns his bile on the white masters, perhaps with some truth: "Republicans are certainly the most cruel masters. . . . American liberty consists in oppressing the blacks beyond what other nations do, enacting laws to prevent their receiving instruction, and working them worse than a donkey—'But you call this a free country—when I can't shoot my nigger when I like—eh?'"[20]

De facto Becomes de Jure

In the spring of 1814, the aged Admiral Warren was replaced as commander of the British North American station by Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane. The new commander made the encouragement of slaves to flee their masters and the taking away of slaves official British policy. On April 2, Cochrane issued a proclamation in which he declared:

> All persons who may be disposed to migrate from the United States, will with their families, be received on board of His Majesty's ships or vessels of War, or at military posts that may be established on or near the coast of the United States, [and] will have their choice of either entering into His Majesty's sea or land forces, or of being sent as free settlers to the British possessions in North America or the West Indies, where they will meet with all due encouragement.[21]

Cochrane's intent was partly to supplement the British forces with able-bodied blacks—a shortage of manpower being one of the problems facing the British. Tangier Island in the southern Chesapeake Bay was fortified as a place to train blacks in arms. The vice admiral relished unrealistic ideas, however, about the prospects for this new fighting force. He wrote to Lord Bathurst on July 14: "The Blacks are all good horsemen. Thousands will join upon their masters' horses, and they will only require to be clothed and accoutered to be as good Cossacks as any in the European army, and I believe more terrific to the Americans than any troops that could be brought forward." To his subordinate Rear Admiral George Cockburn, he intimated that "With them properly armed and backed with 20,000 British troops, Mr. Maddison [*sic*] will be hurled from his throne."[22]



Detail from a British map of Tangier Island showing their Fort Albion, where former Chesapeake Bay slaves were trained by the British in the art of war. Shown are 1) two redoubts, 2) officers' barracks, 3) privates' barracks, 6) garrison barracks, 7) garrison store house, 9) parade ground, and 10) gardens. (Courtesy, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, ms. 2608, Cochrane Papers.)

Cockburn, who had been operating in the Chesapeake the previous year and possibly had a firmer grasp of the real possibilities of employing the former slaves, urged caution. He told his superior that his "Proclamation should not so distinctly hold out to them the option of being sent as free settlers to British settlements, which they will most certainly all prefer to the danger and fatigue of joining us in arms."[23] Cockburn rightly perceived that the fugitive slaves were basically interested in freedom and would not want to serve (and possibly die) in the ranks of a British regiment if they were offered land instead.

This cautionary note notwithstanding, the rear admiral set about constructing the fort on Tangier Island and recruiting a "Corps of Colonial Marines from the People of Colour who escape to us from the Enemy's shore in this Neighborhood to be formed, drilled, and brought forward for service."[24]

It seems highly significant that the British chose to call these African Americans "*Colonial* Marines"—a term which goes to the root of the reasons for the War of 1812. The former colonies that composed the "United States of Amer-

ica" were no longer *colonies* of Great Britain, and in 1814 had not been so for thirty-one years, since the Treaty of Paris of 1783 formally recognized the new country as a sovereign nation. Yet, somehow, the British subconsciously had trouble recognizing the new nation; they were more inclined to view their former colonists as ungrateful stepchildren. The War of 1812 resolved little militarily or even in terms of "Free Trade and Sailor's Rights," the reason for Madison's declaration of war, but it was *necessary* to establish the national identity of the United States as an entity apart from the mother country.

In terms of the implications of Cochrane's proclamation in tempting African Americans to join the new force, Cockburn's reservations turned out to be well founded: by the end of the Chesapeake campaign in late September 1814, five months after the proclamation, only two hundred former slaves had been recruited.

Cockburn nevertheless put the best face he could on the project of training the slaves in the art of warfare, and it seems that they repaid the trust put in them. The former slaves saw action in all of the major British attacks around the Chesapeake from May to September 1814, and they were praised for "their great spirit and vivacity, and perfect obediance," their "order, forebearance, and regularity," as well as their "extraordinary steadiness and good conduct when in action with the Enemy." Of their presence alongside elite white soldiers of the British light brigade at the Battle of Bladensburg on August 24, three months after the formation of the corps, Cockburn was able to say they "behaved with their accustomed zeal and bravery" while suffering one man killed and three wounded.[25]

In contrast to documented looting by white British troops at Hampton, Virginia, and Havre de Grace, Maryland, it seems that the former slaves resisted looting the homes they captured and the temptation of seeking revenge on their former masters. And this, it should be borne in mind, when capture by the Americans might have meant swift execution. Certainly, Cochrane never lost faith in the black marines, who he maintained were perfectly suited for campaigning in the hot, humid Chesapeake Bay summer. He was so pleased with their performance that he ordered an additional bounty to be paid to them to remain in the British forces, and the two hundred former slaves were combined with three hundred royal marines in an integrated battalion.[26]

The exodus of slaves along the coast led the Virginia legislature to increase appropriations to slaveowners whose slaves had been executed or sold out of state for disciplinary reasons. In 1813, slave masters were compensated $10,000 for slaves that were lost to them in these ways, double the figure for 1812, and in 1814 the total reached $12,000.[27] As Cassell notes, "In these grim figures can be read the personal tragedies suffered by slaves whose bid for freedom failed."[28] The Virginia legislature also contemplated abolishing schools for blacks and restricting the movements of slaves outside their masters' plantations as well as those of free black vendors, who were suspected of urging the slaves to escape.[29]

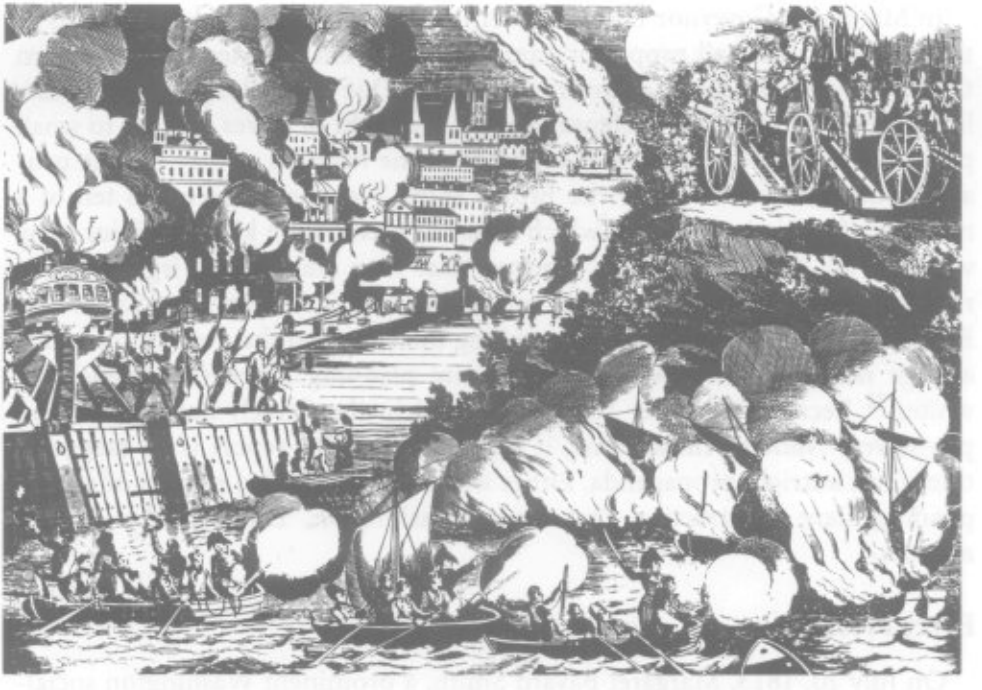
In Maryland, Governor Levin Winder instructed General Caleb Hawkins of the militia to "take all proper precautions to prevent an intercourse between the Enemy and the slaves of your counties."[30] Due to the long, ragged coastline of the bay, however, "defense" against the flight of slaves was left to small parties of whites who attempted to intercept the fugitives as they left the usually wooded shores to reach the British ships. Newspaper accounts tell of a number of tragic incidents in which runaway slaves were killed or injured by whites.[31] In April 1813 it was reported that near Hampton, Virginia, some runaway slaves mistakenly rowed out to an American ship thinking it was British and were apprehended after telling the crewmen they wanted arms for a large number of fellow slaves who were planning a general massacre of whites.[32] Because the latter report appeared in the fiercely anti-British and pro-slavery *National Intelligencer*, it is possible that the report is an exaggeration if not outright propaganda. Either way, such reports fed rumors of an impending slave insurrection that swept Washington, D.C., in the coming months.

Every Precaution

On July 20, 1813, Margaret Bayard Smith, a prominent Washington socialite, wrote to her sister:

> As for our enemy *at home* I have no doubt that they will if possible join the British; here we are, I believe firmly in no danger, as the aim of those in the country would be as quickly as possible to join those in the city and the few scatter'd s——s about our neighbourhood, could not muster force enough to venture on an attack. We have however counted on the possibility of danger and Mr. S. has procured pistols &c &c sufficient for our defence, and we make use of every precaution which we should use were we certain of what we now only reckon a possibility. . . . At present all the members and citizens say it is impossible for the enemy to ascend the river, and our home enemy will not assail us, if they do not arrive.[33]

Perhaps significantly, given the virulent anti-black paranoia of Smith's letter, it should be noted that the writer's husband, Samuel Harrison Smith, was the founder in 1800 of the *National Intelligencer*, and that her brother-in-law Joseph Gales, Jr., was at that time the proprietor and editor. This is not to say, however, that rumors of a coming slave insurrection were not rife in Washington in 1813–1814. Fear of slave rebellions had grown in the southern states since the bloody revolt on the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo (Hispaniola) in the 1790s, which had culminated in the establishment of the black Republic of Haiti in 1804. News reports of the atrocities committed there had alternately fascinated and horrified Americans and had certainly



British woodcut of the destruction of Commodore Barney's flotilla (foreground) and the burning of Washington, D.C.—events of August 22 and August 24–25, respectively, condensed in one scene in this artist's conception. (Courtesy, Greenwich Hospital Collection, Royal Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.)

fueled fears that the same bloody events could happen at home.[34]

Closer to Washington, the memory of Gabriel's Conspiracy in August 1800 in Richmond, Virginia, a mere eighty miles from the national capital, must have been fresh in the minds of District of Columbia whites. The plot failed when Governor (and future U.S. president) James Monroe called out the militia after two slaves betrayed it. The plan, devised by Gabriel Prosser and Jack Ditcher, rural slaves on plantations to the west of the city, had been to conquer Richmond and to hold Governor Monroe hostage until whites agreed to black freedom.[35]

James Sidbury, author of the thesis "Gabriel's World: Race Relations in Richmond, Virginia, 1750–1810," which analyzes the background of the planned revolt, points out that "the Haitian Revolution must have encouraged black Virginians to consider seriously the chances for a black revolution."[36] The abortive uprising was the culmination of a number of insurrection scares that had swept Virginia during the 1790s but was put down with relative ease by Monroe after the governor had first suspected that the plot was, like most of the previous scares in the state, "more rumor than reality." Gabriel and some thirty-five other conspirators were publicly hanged as an example to

other blacks, but Monroe demonstrated his equanimity by allowing co-ringleader Jack Ditcher to be transported out of the United States. Other convicted conspirators were either pardoned or had their sentences commuted to transportation. Sidbury concludes that "ironically one of the biggest insurrection scares in American history helps illustrate the strength and stability of slavery in Virginia."[37]

Gabriel's Conspiracy led some whites to look for reasons for the plot. One anonymous letter writer dared to conjecture that the cause of the planned revolt was the "existence of slavery in one of the freest republics on earth."[38] Jordan notes that the plot also greatly harmed an abolitionist movement that had already grown weak through the 1790s and that hopes for black equality that might have flowed from the American Revolution were instead transformed into a pattern of racial separation.[39]

In the final event, it was not a slave insurrection that traumatized Washington after the American defeat at Bladensburg but destruction caused by the British, in the burning of its public buildings. African Americans from Washington did not contribute to it, nor did the British urge them to do so. However, the British third brigade, consisting of the 21st Regiment, sailors, and the "Colonial Marines" or former slaves, were the troops that marched into the capital on the night of August 24 and engaged in the incendiarism.

To citizens fleeing from the invaders, every manner of hearsay was evident, including the ever-familiar rumor of an unfolding slave insurrection, this time instigated by the enemy. As with previous alarms of slave revolt, the rumors proved more virulent than the reality, but as Charles J. Ingersoll reported in his 1849 history of the war, this did not stop the stories spreading through the District and plaguing Mrs. Madison and her "caravan of affrighted ladies" in their flight from the capital through the Virginia countryside:

> Consternation was at its uttermost; the whole region filled with panic-struck people, terrified scouts roaming about and spreading alarm that the enemy were coming from Washington and Alexandria, and that there was safety nowhere. Among the terrific rumors, one predominated that Cochrane's proclamation was executed by Cockburn, inducing the slaves to revolt, and that thousands of infuriated negroes, drunk with liquor and mad with emancipation, were committing excesses . . . , subjecting the whole country to their horrid outrages. . . . Gen. Young, commanding a brigade of Virginia militia, . . . says they were delayed on their march to join General Winder [at Montgomery Courthouse], "by an alarm of a *domestic nature*, which he was so credulous as to believe, from the respectability of the country people, who came to him for protection; he halted his brigade and sent out light troops and one troop of cavalry to ascertain the fact, which finally proved erroneous."[40]

If the citizenry had its fears, the invaders had concerns of their own. On the night of August 25 the British decamped because they feared an American attack. One of the British brigade commanders stated that "we could scarce think the Americans (from their immense population, and a well trained Artillery) would tamely allow a handful of British Soldiers, to advance thro' the heart of their Country, and burn, & destroy, the Capitol [*sic*] of the United States."[41]

Fears of black civil unrest resurfaced as soon as the British had evacuated the city. General Tobias Stansbury of the Fifth Maryland Militia reported to Congress on conditions after the British withdrawal:

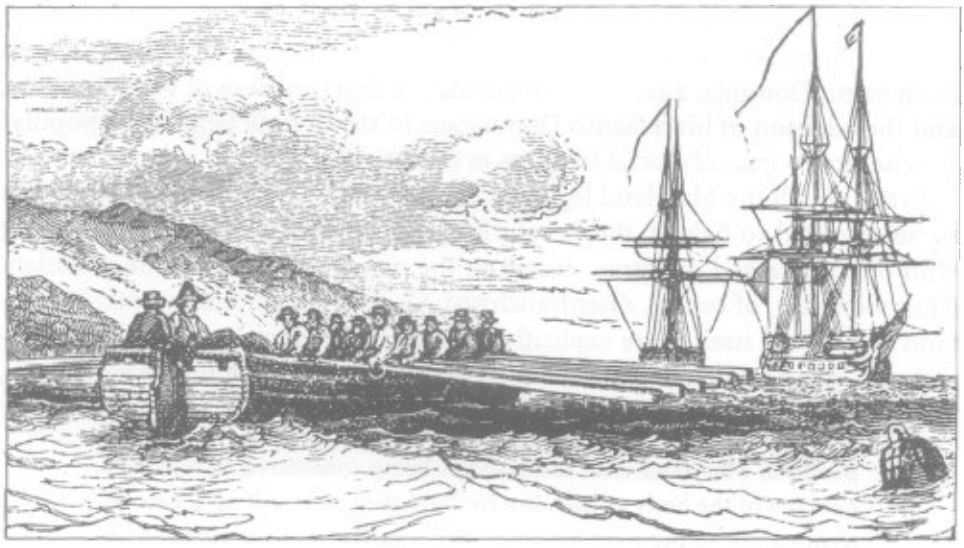
> Reports from Georgetown and the city reached me, that arms of many of the enemy had fallen into the hands of the blacks, and it was apprehended that they would take advantage of the absence of the men to insult the females, and complete the work of destruction commenced by the enemy; and at the earnest solicitation of Brigadier General Smith and Major Peter, who expressed much anxiety respecting their families, and considering it all important to prevent further injury to the city, I ordered the troops of the District of Columbia to move thither for its protection.[42]

On the march back to their ships, the British were approached by a number of runaway slaves who asked to be taken along. One of the junior officers recalled:

> During this day's march [August 26] we were joined by numbers of negro slaves, who implored us to take them along with us, offering to serve either as soldiers or sailors, if we would but give them their liberty; but as General Ross persisted in protecting private property of every description, few of them were fortunate enough to obtain their wishes.[43]

It is probable that Ross refused to take along most of these slaves because he knew they would slow up the march, the British being afraid of imminent American attack. As it happened, their fears were groundless: the U.S. forces were dispirited and more disorganized than ever after Bladensburg. Ross's refusal shows, however, how hollow the offer of freedom to slaves was on the part of the British. They were not offering freedom for humanitarian reasons but purely for their own ends, to use the slaves' manpower and local knowledge, as well as to sap the economic strength of the region. When it was not convenient to aid them in their escape, the slaves were turned away.

According to Walter Lord, free blacks joined with whites in digging entrenchments to protect Washington.[44] Yet, in truth, and again to the shame of Madison's unprepared administration, the entrenchments at Washington



British landing party in the Chesapeake tidewater. (Courtesy Donald G. Shomette.)

were minimal and mainly confined to a small earthwork at Bladensburg, above the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, which the Americans used for a six-gun battery to command the bridge stormed by the British.

Defending Baltimore

The defenses at Baltimore were much more formidable due to the forethought of Major General Samuel Smith, a local merchant and U.S. senator who had much to lose if the British sacked the city. It is significant that, in contrast to General Andrew Jackson at New Orleans, and perhaps not wanting to upset the status quo, Smith did not seek to include free blacks in the militia, though he did welcome their help in constructing the mile-long line of entrenchments that protected the eastern approaches to the city, stretching from Bel Air Road in the north, south to Harris Creek in the harbor.

George Douglass, a local merchant serving as a private in the Baltimore Fencibles, wrote on September 3, 1814, to his friend Henry Wheaton, editor of the *National Advocate* in New York, stating that white and black together were working on the defenses, determined that Baltimore would not suffer the same fate as Washington:

> All hearts and hands have cordially united in the common cause. . . . Last Sunday, at least a mile of entrenchments with suitable batteries were raised as if by magic, at which are now working all sorts of people, old and young, white and black, in so much, before Saturday next we expect every vulnerable point will be strongly fortified.[45]

At the time, as shown by the city directory for 1810, Baltimore had a sizable population of free blacks. There also had been an influx of blacks and whites from Santo Domingo after 1793, following the first outbreak of violence there, and the addition of black Santo Domingans to the already large black population helped to magnify racial tensions in the city.[46]

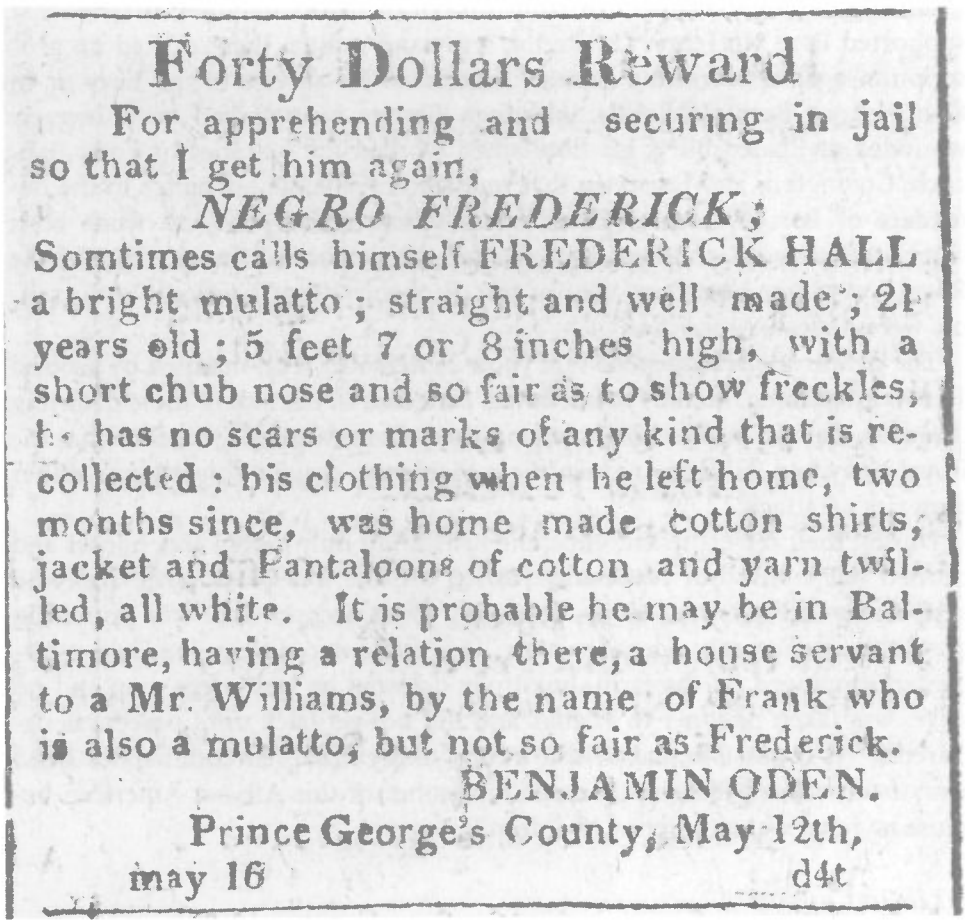
Even though the Maryland legislature had voted in 1781 to allow free blacks to be recruited to fight in the Revolution, they were now barred from serving with the militia and the army, except in the capacities of servant or musician. They were also, of course, disenfranchised. Quarles stated that by 1800 "Maryland committed itself more explicitly than ever before to slavery and to a subordinate role for the free black." However, blacks faced the future with hope, knowing that not all whites wanted to see blacks downtrodden:

> Blacks in Maryland were dismayed at being considered as outsiders, not part of the body politic. But by 1800 they had built up a new determination to press on for what they regarded as their rights. They had faith in the future. . . . They believed that the egalitarian mood of the Revolutionary War period would never be wholly lost and that America would eventually right itself and do justice to them and to the high principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the preamble to the Constitution.[47]

Perhaps because they were aware of the economic opportunities afforded to them in Baltimore, African Americans, both freemen and slaves, worked together to help save the city by helping to build the necessary defenses.

The British landed at North Point, fifteen miles from Baltimore, on the morning of September 12. As General Ross rode toward the city at the head of his troops, he was mortally wounded in a skirmish with Brigadier General John Stricker's advance forces. Colonel Arthur Brooke assumed command and met Stricker's main troops in a battle near Bear Creek. Brooke won the battle—but at a cost. The next morning, September 13, after bivouacking for the night on the battlefield, the British continued their march toward the city. Shortly after dawn, the Royal Navy began to bombard Fort McHenry at the entrance to Baltimore harbor.

Present among the six hundred regulars deployed in the fort's moat to prevent an attempted landing by Royal Marines was a certain Private William Williams. Williams, whose real name was Frederick or Frederick Hall, was a slave who months earlier had escaped from the Prince George's County tobacco plantation of Benjamin Oden. Instead of seeking the sanctuary of a non-slave state to the north, the fugitive had taken the seemingly astounding step of volunteering as a soldier in the 38th U.S. Infantry. Possibly the runaway, described in a reward notice of May 18 as "a bright mulatto. . . so fair as to show freckles," could pass as a white man. On enlisting in Baltimore on April



Forty Dollars Reward

For apprehending and securing in jail so that I get him again,

NEGRO FREDERICK;

Somtimes calls himself FREDERICK HALL a bright mulatto; straight and well made; 21 years old; 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, with a short chub nose and so fair as to show freckles, he has no scars or marks of any kind that is recollected: his clothing when he left home, two months since, was home made cotton shirts, jacket and Pantaloons of cotton and yarn twilled, all white. It is probable he may be in Baltimore, having a relation there, a house servant to a Mr. Williams, by the name of Frank who is also a mulatto, but not so fair as Frederick.

BENJAMIN ODEN.

Prince George's County, May 12th,

may 16 d4t

Reward notice placed by Benjamin Oden of Prince George's County for the apprehension of "Negro Frederick" who became Private William Williams of the 38th U.S. Infantry and who helped defend Fort McHenry in September 1814. Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, *May 18, 1814. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

14, the twenty-one-year-old young man received an enlistment bounty of fifty dollars and a private's monthly wage of eight dollars.[48]

As the bombardment began, a rocket ship, schooner, and five bomb ships began to hurl cannonballs, 200-pound bombs, and rockets toward the brick and earth fort. An answering fusillade ordered by fort commander Major George Armistead compelled the schooner and rocket ship to retire. However, the bomb ships, after retreating a safe distance, continued the bombardment with but short intermission for twenty-three hours until after dawn on September 14. Sometime during this terrifying rain of metal, Private William Williams had "his leg blown off by a cannonball." He died some months later at the Baltimore Public Hospital.[49]

During the bombardment, African-American sailors manned batteries that supported Fort McHenry. Unlike the army and militia, there existed no proscription against recruiting African Americans for service in the navy or in Commodore Barney's flotilla. Although Barney himself had been severely wounded at Bladensburg, his flotillamen worked the batteries of Forts Babcock, Covington, and Lazaretto that rendered invaluable assistance to the defenders of Fort McHenry. Other black sailors stood ready to work both shipborne cannons and land batteries for the defense of the city should the Royal Navy force a way past the star fort. Probably 10 to 25 percent of the sailors were African-American.[50]

The defenses of Hampstead Hill (now Patterson Park), manned by around 15,000 militiamen, literally bristled with cannons. In the face of these daunting defenses, Colonel Brooke, on receiving word from Admiral Cochrane that the Royal Navy had failed to "reduce" Fort McHenry, decided to withdraw rather than risk an attack.

During their retreat to the ships, the British not only looted area houses and burned one house but reportedly carried off one free black farmhand who supposedly did not want to go, according to an account that was printed in the *Baltimore Sun* some decades later: "One free colored man, Joe Gale, a carpenter, employed on the farm, boastfully declared he was a free man and no slave, was taken prisoner to Halifax and did not get back until peace was declared."[51] Is it possible that British troops, angry that their commander shied away from sacking Baltimore, made a prisoner of this African American because he refused their offer of "freedom"?

A Life in Canada?

What of the fate of the three to five thousand former slaves—men, women, and children—shipped out of the Chesapeake region by the British? Although a few of them ended up in Bermuda, notably the ex-Colonial Marines who were rewarded with jobs in the Ireland Island British naval base and a number who were sent to the West Indies, it seems the majority were sent to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Cassell relates:

> The single largest group of black exiles was deposited in Halifax in the early months of 1815. Over two-thousand former slaves with no resources of any kind were left standing on the docks. Penniless, jobless, many of them sick, the refugees were immediately reduced to seeking public relief. What eventually happened to them is something of a mystery. At least a portion established themselves as farmers or domestics while others may have migrated to the West Indies.[52]

Researchers in Canada have gone far toward solving the "mystery" that puzzled

Cassell, although the fate of the former slaves turns out to be bleaker than the scenario he envisioned. John N. Grant and Robin W. Winks relate that the African Americans who were sent to Nova Scotia as a result of the War of 1812 actually comprised the third wave of black immigrants to land in the Canadian province over a thirty-four-year period. The first blacks were the "black Loyalists" who fled during the American Revolution, notably several thousand former slaves from New York who had fled to the British and were shipped out after the British defeat at Yorktown in 1781. The second wave were Maroons who were exiled from Jamaica in 1796 after waging a war against white settlers there. Although both of these earlier groups suffered from the bureaucratic inefficiencies of the British Colonial Office, they did get the chance to get out of the forbidding climate of Nova Scotia, since projects were instituted to give any who wanted the chance to emigrate to Sierra Leone in Africa in 1792 and 1800.[53]

The ex-slaves who landed in Halifax during the War of 1812, dubbed in contrast to the other two groups the "Refugee Negroes," mostly missed this chance to resettle in a more conducive climate. Except for a handful who were resettled in Trinidad in 1820, the remainder of the exiles lost the chance to emigrate due to miscommunications with the whites who talked of resettling them. The former Chesapeake slaves also suffered more deprivations and misery than the first two groups, because they were less accustomed to the cold weather than the New York Loyalists and because they lacked the skills of the Maroons, most having been field hands back in the Chesapeake tidewater. British governmental bungling made their situation even worse. A shipment of three thousand pairs of shoes and other clothing intended to help them through their first winter was misdirected to Bermuda. It took twelve months for the shipment to reach them, leaving the miserable exiles to shiver through their first winter in the bitter Nova Scotia climate without new clothes.[54]

In 1816, when some of the Refugee Negroes were given land by the British government, the land turned out to be worthless and stony, and the blacks did not know how to work it, particularly since it was frozen a large part of the year. The British government had not planned for the long-range support the new settlers would need. When the Earl of Dalhousie took over as governor in October 1816, the refugees were, he said, in "a state of starvation," having been left in a "deplorable condition" during the absence of the previous governor, and he urged that the legislature allow them provisions for at least another year. Dalhousie was hardly sympathetic to the woes of the new colonists. They must, he said, be "supported for many years" by the government, and he added haughtily, "little hope can be entertained of settling these people so as to provide for their families and wants. . . . Slaves by habit & education, no longer working under the dread of the lash, their idea of freedom is Idleness and they are altogether incapable of Industry." Dalhousie suggested that they be sent to Sierra Leone or the West Indies and even went so far as to suggest

that one solution would be to restore them to their masters in the United States![55]

The lot of these African Americans in Nova Scotia would not improve for the next few decades: hundreds died of disease and deprivation. A member of the Refugee Negroes made the following scourging statement: "I have felt my color is my pride and I should have suffered often the pain of being skinned alive could it make me white."[56] Descendants of the former Chesapeake Bay slaves still live in Nova Scotia.

"The Pride of Baltimore"

On the evening of April 8, 1815, Captain Thomas Boyle sailed his privateer *Chasseur* past the ramparts of Fort McHenry into Baltimore harbor. Boyle ordered the schooner's cannons to be fired to salute the fort that six months earlier had withstood the might of the Royal Navy. The citizens of the city acclaimed the *Chasseur* the "Pride of Baltimore."[57]

The *Chasseur* must have been a special source of pride to one of Boyle's gunners, the free black man George R. Roberts. The African-American seaman was on board the privateer on August 28, 1814, when Boyle issued his paper blockade of the British Isles, which he requested that the British post at Lloyd's Coffeehouse in London. Boyle's audacious proclamation was a spoof of the blockades of the U.S. coast that had been declared by British admirals Warren and Cochrane in the preceding eighteen months. During the *Chasseur*'s capture of the British schooner *St. Lawrence* on February 27, 1815, Roberts is said to have "displayed the most intrepid courage and daring."[58]

At the beginning of the war, Roberts had enlisted on board the Baltimore privateer *Sarah Ann* under the command of Captain Richard Moon. In October 1812 the *Sarah Ann* was captured by the enemy off the Bahamas. Six crewmen, including George Roberts, accused of being British subjects, were put on board ship for Jamaica. In a letter sent to the owners in Charleston, South Carolina, Captain Moon said he feared the men would "be tried for their lives." The privateer skipper rebutted the British charge that the sailors were not Americans. In regard to "George Robert [*sic*], a coloured man and seaman," he stated, "I know him to be native born of the United States. . . . He entered on board the *Sarah Ann* at Baltimore where he is married. . . ." The editor of *Niles' Register* reported that in retaliation for the British action, the Charleston cartel took twelve British prisoners from a prison ship "and put [them] into close confinement, to be detained as hostages."[59] No doubt this ploy worked. Certainly, the episode counts as one of the "hairbreath escapes" this brave African American experienced, as mentioned in his obituary in the Baltimore *Sun* following his death in January 1861 at his home in Canton at the reported age of ninety-five years.[60]

Indeed, in his waning years, as his nation teetered toward civil war, the

newspapermen of Baltimore noted that the aged George Roberts still felt proud to parade with the other "Old Defenders" of Baltimore. For he too had served.

NOTES

1. Frank A. Cassell, "Slaves of the Chesapeake Bay Area and the War of 1812," *Journal of Negro History,* 57 (April 1972): 144–155.
2. Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 482–511.
3. Cassell, "Slaves of the Chesapeake Bay Area," 155.
4. See Penelope Campbell, *Maryland in Africa: The Maryland State Colonization Society, 1831–1857* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971).
5. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of 1810, Prince George's County, Maryland.
6. Robert Ross to Elizabeth Ross, September 1, 1814. Quoted in Christopher T. George, "The Family Papers of Maj. Gen. Robert Ross, the Diary of Col. Arthur Brooke, and the British Attacks on Washington and Baltimore of 1814," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 88 (Fall 1993): 300–316. The British sack of the national capital forced Pennsylvania and New York to revise their state militia acts to allow the recruitment of "free men of color" in black combat units. See Gerard T. Altoff, *Amongst My Best Men: African-Americans and the War of 1812* (Put-in-Bay, Ohio: The Perry Group, 1996), 69–72.
7. See J. C. A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).
8. Scott S. Sheads, *The Rockets' Red Glare: The Maritime Defense of Baltimore in 1814* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1986), 60–61.
9. Charles B. Brooks, *The Siege of New Orleans* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), 51, 57–58, 87–88. It is curious that both Andrew Jackson and Samuel Smith were controversial figures. They were the type of men who either inspired love or hate. Although Smith never reached the political heights of Jackson, he did aspire to national office, having to settle for serving twenty-three years as a U.S. Senator; he also was elected mayor of Baltimore and served until his death in 1839 at age eighty-seven. Both Jackson and Smith were accused of arrogance and high-handedness. Although these commanders seemingly made careers of creating enemies, as the architects of plans to save American cities from the British, they got the job done.
10. Proclamation of the Earl of Dunmore, November 7, 1775. Broadside, Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.
11. "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment" in Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1973), 19–32.
12. Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution,* 31–32. Ironically, as governor, Dunmore had withheld his signature from a bill against the slave trade.
13. *Maryland Journal,* July 13 and August 24, 1779. Although the British offer of freedom to Chesapeake Bay slaves was renewed by Benedict Arnold, then a British general, during

his 1781 raid through Virginia, there is evidence that his intentions were ambiguous at best. A letter of Arnold's states that he intended to return Negroes to their masters. This letter is discussed in James Sidbury, "Gabriel's World: Race Relations in Richmond, Virginia, 1750–1810" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1991), 6.

14. Lord Bathurst to Colonel Sir Thomas Sidney Beckwith, March 20, 1813. Thomas Brisbane Papers, 1813–1815, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

15. Cassell, "Slaves of the Chesapeake Bay Area," 146.

16. Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man* (1837, repr.; New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 469.

17. *National Intelligencer*, April 30 and May 1, 1813.

18. Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, 471–473.

19. Captain John Barrie, R.N., to Admiral Sir John B. Warren, November 14, 1813, Admiralty Archives, Adm. 1/505, 131–133, Public Record Office, London.

20. William Stanhope Lovell, *Personal Narrative of Events from 1799 to 1815* (London, 1879), 152.

21. Cochrane Proclamation, April 2, 1814, Admiralty Archives, Adm. 1/508, 579.

22. Cochrane to Bathurst, July 14, 1814, War Office 1/141, Public Record Office, London; Cochrane to Cockburn, July 1, 1814, Cochrane Papers 2346, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

23. Cockburn to Cochrane, April 2, 1814, Cochrane Papers 2574.

24. Cockburn to Cochrane, May 19, 1814, Admiralty Archives, Adm. 1/507, 59–60.

25. Captain James Ross to Cockburn, May 29, 1814, Admiralty Archives, Adm. 1/507, 68–70; Captain William Baines to Cockburn, June 19, 1814, ibid., Adm. 1/507, 81–86; Cockburn to Cochrane, June 23, 1814, ibid., Adm. 1/507, 57–58; Cockburn to Cochrane, August 27, 1814, ibid., Adm. 1/506, 609–612. Interestingly, at New Orleans General Andrew Jackson used the same argument as Admiral Cochrane for using African-American troops: the blacks were "inured to the Southern climate and would make excellent soldiers." Jackson to Louisiana Governor William C. C. Claiborne, September 21, 1814, in John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. 2, May 1, 1814–December 31, 1819 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1927), 56.

26. Cochrane to Admiral John Croker, September 28, 1814, Admiralty Archives, Adm. 1/507, 248.

27. Virginia Senate Journal, January 22, 1813, January 24 and 25, 1814, Class A.1a (reel 2), Microfilm Collection of Early State Records, Library of Congress.

28. Cassell, "Slaves of the Chesapeake Bay Area," 150.

29. Virginia House Journal, January 8, 11, 17, 26, and 27, 1814, Class A.16 (reel 6), Microfilm Collection of Early State Records, Library of Congress.

30. Governor Levin Winder to General Caleb Hawkins, August 27, 1813, Maryland Governor's Letterbook, Class E.2 (reel 4), Library of Congress.

31. *Richmond Enquirer*, July 30 and October 8, 1813.

32. *National Intelligencer*, April 6, 1813.

33. Margaret Bayard Smith to Mrs. Jane Kirkpatrick, July 20, 1813, in Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The First Forty Years of Washington Society* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906),

89–91. Around the time of the British invasion, rumors circulated of a slave conspiracy in Frederick, forty miles northwest of Washington, with several leaders already arrested (*New York Evening Post,* August 22 and 24, 1814; *Richmond Enquirer,* August 27, 1814).

34. Jordan, *White Over Black,* 375–402.

35. James Sidbury, "Gabriel's World," 180–184.

36. Ibid., 20.

37. Ibid., 5, 185–187.

38. *Virginia Gazette,* December 11, 1800.

39. Jordan, *White Over Black,* 400–426.

40. Charles J. Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch of the Second War between the United States of America, and Great Britain. Vol. 2, Embracing the Events of 1814* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1849), 207–208. Although the rumors proved for the most part to be unfounded, there were certainly blacks and others who took advantage of the chaos in the capital, notably looting by a "rabble" at the president's mansion after the Madisons fled. A slave, Nace Rhodes, later returned some of the President's silver urns, trays, and a candelabra, for which he was rewarded five dollars (Nace Rhodes, letter to "dear sir," April 24, 1815, District Commissioners' letters received, National Archives).

41. Diary of Colonel Arthur Brooke, quoted in Christopher T. George, "The Family Papers of Maj. Gen. Robert Ross, the Diary of Col. Arthur Brooke, and the British Attacks on Washington and Baltimore of 1814," 300–316.

42. Report of General Tobias E. Stansbury, November 15, 1814, *American State Papers, Military Affairs,* 1:560–562.

43. George R. Gleig, *The Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans, 1814–1815* (London: John Murray, 1861), 80.

44. Walter Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 76–77.

45. George Douglass to Henry Wheaton, September 3, 1814, Vertical File, Fort McHenry Library. Another anonymous observer commented: "White and black are all at work together. You'll see a master and his slave digging side by side. There is no distinction whatsoever." (*New York Evening Post,* September 5, 1814).

46. William Joseph Fletcher, "The Contribution of the Faculty of Saint Mary's Seminary to the Solution of Baltimore's San Domingan Negro Problems, 1793–1852." M.A. thesis, the Johns Hopkins University, 1951. Also, Walter Charlton Hartridge, "The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 38 (June 1943): 103–122. The 1820 Baltimore city directory lists 220 free blacks. In comparison, New Orleans had around six hundred free blacks, probably more than any other city in the United States. See Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 64. Moreover, many of the New Orleans African Americans were well-to-do Creoles or expatriate Haitians, in comparison to Baltimore's free blacks, who were artisans, laborers, and the like.

47. Benjamin Quarles, "'Freedom Fettered': Blacks in the Constitutional Era in Maryland, 1776–1810—An Introduction," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 84 (Winter 1989): 299–304.

48. Scott S. Sheads, "A Black Soldier Defends Fort McHenry, 1814," *Military Collector & Historian,* 41 (Spring 1989): 20–21. Also see Altoff, *Amongst My Best Men,* 126–127. Slave

escape notice, *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertizer,* May 18, 1814.

49. Sheads, *The Rockets' Red Glare,* 91–102. Altoff, *Amongst My Best Men,* 127.

50. Altoff, *Amongst My Best Men,* 127–128.

51. "Baltimore's Proud Day. The Battle of North Point. A Maryland Lady's Reminiscences," *Baltimore Sun,* September 12, 1888.

52. Cassell, "Slaves of the Chesapeake Bay Area," 153–154. The former Colonial Marines apparently later were given land in Upper Canada and, according to a British report of 1840, they and their descendants were alleged to be "happy and loyal settlers." *United Service Journal,* 4 (May 1840): 27.

53. John N. Grant, "Black Immigrants into Nova Scotia, 1776–1815," *Journal of Negro History,* 48 (July 1973): 253–270; "The Refugee Negroes" in Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1971), 114–141.

54. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada,* 116 and 124–125.

55. Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 29, 1816. CO217/98, Colonial Office Records, Public Record Office, London.

56. Lenore DeWolf Rathbun, "First Freed Slaves at Five Mile Plains and Vicinity," typescript manuscript in the Public Record Office of Nova Scotia, written in 1950 from interviews with great-grandchildren of African-American settlers and diaries of the author's parents and grandparents, quoted in Winks, *The Blacks in Canada,* 114.

57. *Niles' Weekly Register,* April 15, 1815.

58. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertizer,* January 16, 1861. For more on Boyle and the *Chasseur,* see Fred W. Hopkins, Jr., *Tom Boyle, Master Privateer* (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1976).

59. *Niles' Weekly Register,* November 14, 1812.

60. *Baltimore Sun,* January 16, 1861.

Maryland Quakers in England, 1659–1720

KENNETH L. CARROLL

During the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries Quakers in the American colonies, both in the West Indies and on the mainland, were closely tied to England—especially by Friends traveling in the ministry, epistles, books, and tracts from London, and trade. Frederick B. Tolles's description of this situation as "The Atlantic Community of Friends"[1] is an apt one.

Quakerism in Maryland formed one important part of that "Atlantic Community." Although some attention has been given to the travel of English (and Irish) Quaker "Publishers of Truth" to Maryland, no real effort thus far has been devoted to uncovering trips to England—for religious, political, commercial, or purely personal reasons—by Maryland Friends.

Quakerism first appeared in the Chesapeake region about 1656, when Elizabeth Harris actively proclaimed the Quaker message on the Eastern Shore's Kent Island and in the West River, South River, Rhode River, Severn River, and Herring Creek areas on the Western Shore.[2] Her work was soon followed by several visits from Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston in the 1658–1661 period.[3] Other early Quaker missionaries in Maryland included William Robinson, Christopher Holder, and Robert Hodgson. As a result of their combined efforts George Rolfe in 1661 was able to report that "many settled meetings there are in Maryland."[4]

Before long a sizable Quaker community had sprung up on both Maryland shores. Correspondence and travel across the Atlantic in the eastward direction were bound to take place, as Maryland Friends for one reason or another felt called to write or visit England. Although the extant sources do not allow a full picture of this development, there still exists enough material to provide some picture of this movement—including names of some of the Friends involved and their reasons for going, as well as a partial account of their experience in England.

Although the loss of many early Quaker records makes it impossible to produce a full list of those who went from Maryland to England, it is possible to identify many who did make the journey. For most of these the visit was a round-trip one. Others were "one-way," either by the Friend settling there or dying there. Some were short visits, while others lasted a year or more. A few involved "traveling under religious concern," while others were on "outward

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concerns." In many cases not much more than the name and date are known, though in one or two a rather detailed account is to be had. When possible they tended to travel with Quaker sea captains, such as Samuel Groome (who became one of the proprietors of West New Jersey), Samuel Groome, Jr., or the famous Thomas Lurting. Others took shipping with Richard Hill, a Quaker from Anne Arundel County. Going on a Quaker ship enabled one to escape the ill-usage some Friends had experienced at the hands of rough, uncouth sailors in earlier periods—as well as giving more opportunity for meetings for worship while at sea.

Gone to England

The first recorded travel to England by a Maryland Quaker took place very soon after the rise of Quakerism in the Chesapeake area. Richard Preston may have been the first to make the journey. Preston (ca. 1618–1669/70), who was born in England, came to Maryland via Virginia—arriving with the great number of Puritan settlers who fled Virginia for Maryland in 1649. He was politically active in Maryland almost from the time of his arrival until his death, occupying many important offices. In 1652 he served in the Council chosen to govern the colony, as Speaker of the Assembly in 1654, and as a member of the Council that in March 1657/8 surrendered the government back to Lord Baltimore. Preston served as a member of the Lower House throughout the 1660s, first from Calvert County and then Dorchester—holding the position of Speaker in 1661 and 1662. So important was he that Charles Calvert, in 1663, called him "the Great Quaker." His first trip to England may have begun late in 1659 and lasted well into 1660 when he was absent from the February-March Assembly, being listed as "gone to England."[5]

What was the purpose of Richard Preston's journey to England at the end of 1659? No reason is given in the brief mention of his trip in *Archives of Maryland,* but it is easy to conjecture that it was to help bring about the end of the brief but violent persecution of Maryland Quakers by such "enemies" as Edward Lloyd, William Coursey, and John Norwood. Several developments shortly after Preston's arrival in England support this answer: Gilbert Layty's [Latey] speaking to Lord Baltimore on a number of occasions about this situation; the publication of Francis Howgill's *The Deceiver of the Nations Discovered* (which contains a rather full list of the sufferings of Maryland Friends in 1658 and 1659—an account that probably was given to Howgill by Preston himself); and George Fox's 1660 letter to Josiah Coale and to Maryland Friends suggesting that they try to buy from the Indians some land beyond Lord Baltimore's territory (where they might be free of the persecution). Soon the sting of persecution was lifted.[6]

About the same time another Maryland Friend had made her way to England—an unnamed Quakeress who was reported ill in the north of England in

Moved by the Spirit, *a painting by Charles Yardley Turner (1850–1918), depicting a Quaker meeting. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

June 1660: "The Maiden that came thither lieth now very sick in these parts but she doth not neither shall [she] want for anything convenient."[7] Who she was, why she came, and what happened to her all remain mysteries.

Stranger Than Fiction

No other Maryland Quaker is known to have made the trip across the Atlantic until 1661 when Charles Bayly [Bailey, Bailley, etc.] traveled to England. Bayly, whose life story is truly stranger than fiction, as a child lived in England where his parents were attached to the English Court. An unusual set of developments led to his being enticed on an America-bound ship by a "Spirit" named Bradstreet and then sold as an indentured servant to a Puritan in "Virginia" (a designation often used to include all the land opening off the Chesapeake Bay, including Maryland). Having rejected the Roman Catholicism of his parents and the Puritanism of his cruel master, he was converted to Quakerism by Elizabeth Harris, thus becoming one of the first Quakers in Maryland and in all the American colonies.

Bayly's own religious pilgrimage and discovery soon led him to become a "Publisher of Truth," with some missionary activity among Indians—so that he may have converted those Indian Quakers who were martyred in "Virginia" in 1659 or 1660.[8] In 1661, Bayly sailed to England, where he renewed contact with Charles II (whom he had earlier known through court circles) and obtained a letter from the king which he then carried to Rome. There he sought the freedom of John Perrot,[9] who had been imprisoned for several years by the

Inquisition. After being incarcerated himself, Bayly (accompanied by John Perrot and Jane Stokes) returned to England via France where he was also jailed for a time for proclaiming his Quakerism. Once back in England further imprisonments for his Quaker beliefs and activities followed, including one seven-year stretch in the Tower of London. Suddenly, in 1668, he was freed from the Tower and made governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, spending several years in Canada where he established close relations with the Indians. He returned to London in 1670 and died there in 1680.[10]

Thomas Taillor [Tailler, Taylor, etc.], who served as the Speaker of the Assembly in Maryland and then became a member of the Council, may have been a Quaker (to some degree) in the years 1665–1674. During that time he made at least two journeys to England. His first trip, in 1667, was to visit his mother, whom he probably had not seen since his arrival in Maryland around 1656. A second voyage in 1671 was for commercial reasons—for not only had he become a tobacco planter on a large scale but also a prosperous tobacco merchant with an increasing business in England. Although George Fox, who had some contact with Taillor and his family in 1672–1673, thought of Taillor as both "convinced" and very "loving," Taillor seems to have fallen away from Quakerism shortly thereafter. John Garey, in a 1674 letter to Fox, reported that Samuel Chew (a member of the Council) was a far better man than Thomas Taillor at the Ridge "who made a great show of love when thee was here."[11] Shortly after 1674 Taillor accepted two military titles, becoming lieutenant colonel in 1676 and colonel shortly thereafter. Taillor's later visits to England in 1686 and 1689 were largely for commercial purposes as well as to attend his son's second marriage. He never returned to Maryland after 1689 but soon settled down to a life of adultery and then bigamy with Mary Hedge, who had run away from her Maryland husband and followed Taillor to England.[12]

John Taillor, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Marsh Sparrow Taillor, was born in Maryland in 1657 or 1658. In 1681 he went to England to manage the London end of the family trade. Already an active Friend (as was his mother), he settled in Ratcliff where he became an active member of the Ratcliff Meeting. In 1682 he married Mary Groome, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth, of Ratcliff. Samuel, the Quaker sea captain, was a long-time family friend. Mary Groome Taillor died of a fever less than sixteen months later. Two and a half years after Mary's death John Taillor married again, also in a Quaker wedding—this time at Devonshire House Meeting. His second wife, Margaret, was the daughter of Francis Moore. John's father, Thomas Taillor, over from Maryland, attended the wedding as did a large number of English Quakers. John and Margaret had one child born in February 1697. John soon moved his family to Tower Hill in London and his business to Tower Dock near the Tower of London.

For many years to come the Taillor home was a place for Maryland Quakers

to stay while in London. John himself was active in the life of the Society of Friends, serving on the powerful Meeting for Sufferings in London as well as acting as one of the "correspondents" for Maryland Friends. John's wife Margaret died in 1709 and was buried in the Quaker burial ground at Bunhill Fields; John, who later became a member of Wheeler Street Meeting, died in 1742 at the age of eighty-four. He too was interred at Bunhill Fields, the burial ground for more than twelve thousand Friends (including George Fox, who died in 1691).[13]

Two other Maryland Quakers who were in England in 1681 were Richard Mitchell and Daniel Rawlings. Mitchell, after some time in England, had returned to Maryland by May 21, 1681, bringing Quaker books from London.[14] The reason for his journey to England is unknown. Late in 1681, Daniel Rawlings, intending to make a visit to England, requested a certificate of unity with Friends—testifying to his good behavior and clearness in marriage.[15] At the end of 1683 three more Western Shore Friends sought certificates to carry with them as they traveled to England: Ann Chew, Edward Talbot, and Samuel Chew.[16] All three were going under "outward concern." In the same year, Mary Searson, wife of Edward, decided to return to England and received a certificate signed by thirty-three Friends testifying to her good character while in Maryland (denying John Lynam's accusations that she was a "troublemaker").[17] At the end of 1684 Elizabeth Hall (wife of Richard and traveling with his consent) asked for a certificate for England, where she was going on business and "other outwards concerns."[18] Humphrey Emerton, at the end of 1686, also stated his intention to go to England on "outward concerns." The monthly meeting held at Clifts decided that it was necessary to consult with his wife concerning her willingness to have him go.[19] A gap in the records leaves the decision unknown.

A number of Maryland Quakers visited England in the late 1680s. Among these was Solomon Sparrow, John Taillor's half-brother. Solomon, who was only four or five years old when his widowed mother married Thomas Taillor, was no more than six when John Taillor was born. Relationships within the family appear to have been very close. Solomon Sparrow not only became a "planter" but also seems to have helped his stepfather in a number of ways, including buying tobacco and overseeing Thomas Taillor's own harvest when Thomas was overseas. Solomon, an important member of West River Meeting, served Maryland Quakers in many capacities. About 1688 he came to London, with his stepfather it would seem, and stayed in John Taillor's home at Tower Hill until his return to Maryland some months later.[20]

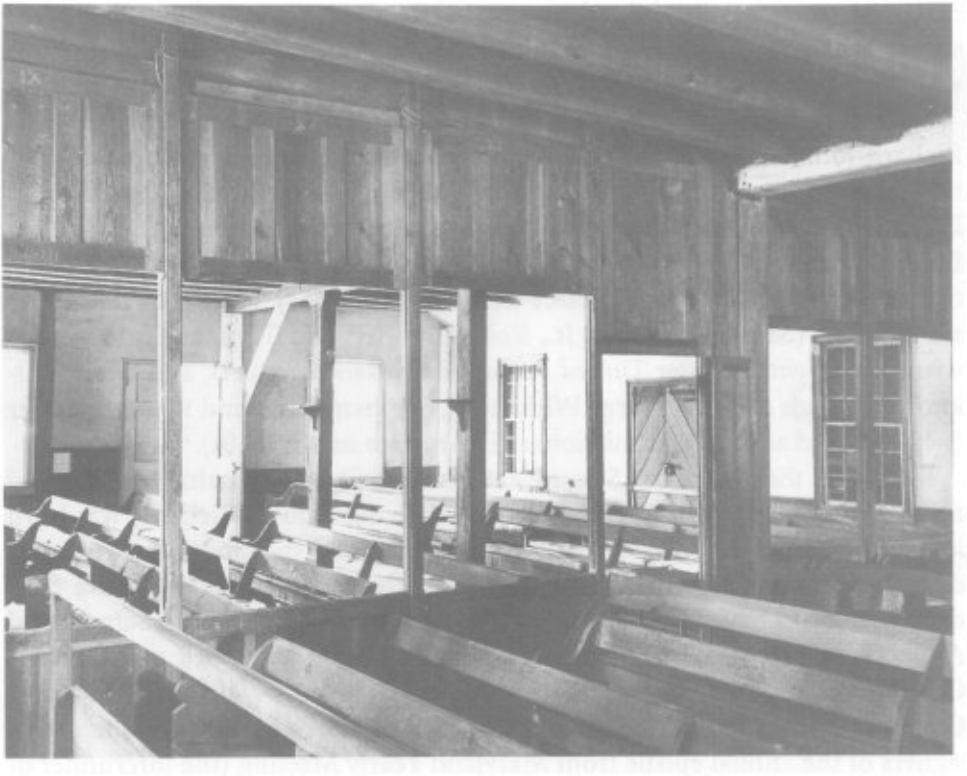
Oaths and Establishmentarianism

A 1686–1687 Maryland visitor was Richard Johns who had been convinced, or converted, to Quakerism, by George Fox during the latter's travels through

Exterior of the Third Haven Meeting House, Easton, Maryland. Built in 1684, this building still holds gatherings of Maryland's Eastern Shore Quakers. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 1441.)

the mainland colonies in 1672–1673. After his return to Maryland, Johns wrote to Fox (on March 28, 1688):

> I was very much Comforted & Refreshed in thy Company when I had the oppertunity to Speak with thee once or twice in London and Could have bin glad to have had more Conferrance with thee but when thou was gone into the Country I was then almost uncapable to vissit thee being altogether a stranger to those parts Soe that without a guide it was hard for me to find the way that my businesse led me about in London. I did acquaint Some friends in London that I had a desire to See thee before I went to Maryland but I perceived theire occations Could not permitt theire goeing Just at that time: yett once I gott a pylate to Edward Mann's Country house where I hoped to meet thee but thou was gone from thence: Dear G: F: I w[oul]d not have troubled thee with these matters but that I was not Clearly Satisfied in my owne minde that I did not See thee again before I went, the Ship going some thing Sooner than Expected. I did wright a few lines to thee which in thy letter to us thou Signifies thee did Receive.[21]



Interior of the Third Haven Meeting House, Easton, Maryland. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 1441.)

Johns, who had gone to England with Thomas Lurting in 1686, may have had some personal business to conduct while in England, but his major concern in the summer and autumn of 1687 was to work with London Friends in one great effort to obtain Lord Baltimore's approval to set aside oaths required of Quakers. In July of that year Lord Baltimore promised to do "in it what he can for their relief." It was not until early 1688, however, that Samuel Groome and John Edridge (correspondents to Maryland, who continued to represent the Quaker cause) were able to report that "the Lord Baltimore hath Written Effectively for the Easeing of Friends in Maryland in Testimentary matters which was committed to their care and is now Effected."[22] Johns also brought back with him, for the use of his fellow Quakers, some of Fox's Primers and several copies of *Statutes in Breviate.*

Another equally prominent Maryland Quaker who also came to London and stayed at Tower Hill with the Taillors was Samuel Galloway, who was only a bit older than John Taillor. Samuel Galloway, son of Richard, lived very close to the Taillor home at Ridge in Anne Arundel County and frequently visited the family as far back as he could remember. Samuel's first wife was the daughter of William Coale (one of Maryland's earliest Friends who had traveled in the

ministry). After her death he then married Sarah Sparrow (John Taillor's half sister), whom he had known from childhood. Sometime in the 1680s he was widowed once more.

Samuel Galloway traveled to England in the late 1680s, probably to assist Richard Johns in the testamentary oaths effort, and stayed a considerable period of time. In April 1689 he married Anne Webb of London, daughter of Barrington Webb (deceased grocer of Limestreet and citizen of London) at Devonshire House Meeting in London. Among those fifty-six people signing the wedding certificate as witnesses were John and Mary Taillor, three Quaker sea captains (Samuel Groome, Jr., Robert Fowler, and Thomas Lurting, who wrote *The Fighting Sailor Turned Peaceable Quaker/Christian*), and other well-known Friends such as George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, and Richard Pinder (who traveled as a Quaker missionary in America in the 1660s).[23]

Following their wedding Samuel and Anne Galloway remained in England for a considerable period of time, so that their first child (Richard) was born in London in January 1689/90.[24] Some months later the family took up residence at Samuel's Maryland home at West River where fourteen more children were born between 1690 and 1709. From 1690 onward, both Samuel and Anne Galloway took on growing responsibilities in the work of Maryland Quakerism. Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly Meetings were often held at the Galloway house. From 1698 through 1719, Samuel Galloway was one of the signers of the annual epistle from Maryland Yearly Meeting (the forerunner of the present Baltimore Yearly Meeting) to London Yearly Meeting—as well as from the Quarterly Meeting at Herring Creek. Both Samuel and Anne served on various committees at all levels of the Maryland Quaker movement.

Samuel Galloway was back in England again in 1697–1698, once more a "boarder . . . for a long time" in Taillor's house. This time he was part of a four-man group of Maryland Quakers, all of whom knew John Taillor. They had come over to London to work with the "Correspondents for Maryland," who included John Taillor and the sea captain Samuel Groome, Jr., in their number. Their task was to persuade the King in Council to disallow the latest Maryland Act providing for "the maintenance of ministers," a part of a continuing effort in the years 1692–1702 to establish the Anglican Church as the state church in the colony.[25]

The other Marylanders who came over at the same time and for the same purpose were Richard Johns, Nehemiah Birkhead [Burkett], and Samuel Chew. These three may also have stayed with John Taillor and his family, even though John already had his father residing with him Monday through Friday as well as his former brother-in-law Samuel Galloway. These four Western Shore Friends provided much of the Maryland Quaker Leadership at the end of the seventeenth century.

Samuel Chew (1660–1718) was raised as a Quaker, the son of Samuel (ca. 1630–1677) a member of the Council to whom George Fox had sent a copy of

Deer Creek Meeting House, Harford County, Maryland. The original date of construction is unknown; it was rebuilt in 1784. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 1441.)

Edward Burrough's *Works.*[26] This was, at least, the second trip to England for Richard Johns, who had been convinced by Fox in 1672/73. Nehemiah Birkhead's connection with Fox is unknown. At some unknown date Birkhead had come from Bristol where Quakerism had first appeared in 1654 and spread rapidly among the people there. Bristol was a bustling seaport with much shipping to and from America.

The Maryland Quakers met frequently with the London Correspondents for Maryland on their appointed task. Richard Johns appears to have been particularly active, even meeting with the Secretary of the Board of Trade and Plantations, who told him that the committee had written two letters to the governor of Maryland to be "favorable" to Friends "in the prosecution of the Bill for the Maintenance of Ministers."[27] These four Friends had arrived in England during the summer of 1697, bringing with them a petition from Maryland Quakers directed to the "Lords Justices" and the Privy Council. This paper set forth their sufferings "sustained by a late act . . . for Ministers Maintenance and Building of Churches which Act is supposed to lye before the Council here for Confirmation." Maryland Friends requested that the Act "not pass, but that the King show his dislike to this way of proceeding." A

large number of English Friends (including William Penn, Gilbert Layty, George Whitehead, and the famous Quaker clock maker Daniel Quare) were appointed to assist the Marylanders and the London Correspondents for Maryland in this matter.[28] Eventually, late in 1697, Johns and his companions were to return home—leaving to the correspondents and others the ongoing struggle to obtain relief from this and subsequent acts.

In November 1697, an Epistle to the Yearly Meeting in Maryland was given to Richard Johns to carry over to Maryland as the four returned home. Immediately before that action the Morning Meeting (of London Yearly Meeting) approved the travel to America in religious service of William Ellis, Aaron Atkinson, and Thomas Turner.[29] The four Maryland Friends returned home on the *Josiah,* which was captained by Quaker Thomas Lurting. On the same ship there also came Thomas Chalkley and another "public" Friend. Two of these "ministering" Friends left accounts of their journey across the Atlantic, thus providing a graphic presentation of the hardships and dangers Friends (and others) experienced in these early transatlantic crossings.

Thomas Chalkley reports that when the weather was rough and the sea was "boisterous" most of the passengers were sick from the ship's motion. He noted that during that period "we lost a Lad, that fell into the Sea (as he was drawing a Bucket of Water) and he was drowned; the Ship running swiftly, he could not be saved, although it was speedily endeavoured." The ship's mate said that in the twenty years he had been at sea he had never seen the sea so high or rough before. During the crossing, which took about three months after the ship actually got under way, they had meetings for worship twice a week. Most of the passengers, about sixty in number, came to these gatherings. Chalkley reported that several people, other than the lad pulled into the sea by the tug on the bucket and rope, died during the crossing.[30]

William Ellis noted, in his account, that about the same time the boy fell overboard and drowned, another person died and was buried at sea. In a letter to his wife, written from Maryland about a week after the ship's arrival, Ellis said "We have passed through such perils by sea that I cannot express it; and when we came within two miles of land [at the Virginia Capes] we had liked to have been wrecked on the shore."[31]

Many Crossings

Other Friends from Maryland visited England at the turn of the century. William Harris, of the Clifts in Calvert County, was in England in 1697 and was buried in Bunhill Fields Quaker burial ground on November 21 of that year. His will, dated March 25, 1697 (perhaps drawn up just before his contemplated journey), was not proved until May 2, 1698—indicating a long delay in the news of his death reaching Maryland.[32] John Snowden returned to Maryland from England on *Josiah* in 1699, bringing with him the goods and

servants of Thomas Chalkley who was in the process of settling in America.[33] Richard Hill, Maryland Quaker sea-captain, brought the 1699 epistle from the Morning Meeting in London and some books to the Quarterly Meeting at Herring Creek.[34] This was but one of his many crossings of the Atlantic. Mordecai Moore, early in 1699, requested a certificate for England.[35]

Late in 1700, London Friends (in a letter to Johns, Chew, Birkhead, and Galloway) reported that they were sending a number of books and eight hundred copies of Joseph Wyeth's reply to Dr. Bray's printed letter.[36] Mordecai Moore's son, on his way to Maryland, would bring these printed materials with him. In 1706 there were at least three Maryland Friends who journeyed to England: John Preston, William Harrison, and John Giles—all of them on "outward concerns." Each of them sought a certificate to carry, as was the Quaker practice.[37]

In 1711, Samuel and Anne Galloway made a journey to England—the first, it would seem, since their marriage. Samuel's trip was on "outward business," and he was taking his wife with him so that she might visit her relatives.[38] About the same time Richard Bond went to England, and William Coale planned a similar visit "on account of the recovery of his health."[39] In that same year Mary Mitchell, widow, decided to return to England in order to dwell among her relatives.[40] In 1716, a number of Maryland Friends headed eastward across the Atlantic: Kensey Johns, William Richardson, Sr., and Samuel Chew. The first two requested certificates before they left on their journey; Samuel Chew was reported in August 1716 to have gone some time earlier and asked that Friends send on a certificate of clearness of all marriage[s]. Samuel Harrison, at the beginning of 1718, likewise acquainted Maryland Friends with his plans to go to England. All four of these last requests were on "outward concerns."[41] It seems quite possible that Johns, Richardson, and Chew were involved in the Quaker effort to persuade the newly restored rule of Lord Baltimore to return some of the privileges (such as serving in the Assembly without taking oaths) which they had lost following the upheaval of 1689.

The last three Maryland Quakers to visit England during the second decade of the eighteenth century made very different journeys from those mentioned earlier. Two of them, Robert Roberts and Anne Galloway, traveled "under religious concern," and the third (Samuel Galloway) accompanied his wife as she moved about in her "religious service." Although many "public" or "ministering" Friends had visited Maryland from the time of Elizabeth Harris onward, this appears to be the first purely religious visit to England by Marylanders who had developed a real gift in the ministry and who were recognized as "ministers." Robert Roberts (d. 1728) first appeared in the ministry in his local Western Shore area but then began to travel abroad in other Maryland areas and then in other colonies: visiting the Eastern Shore of Maryland (1707), Pennsylvania and "some parts of New England (1709), Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and parts of New England" (1712) and Virginia (1716).[42] Anne

Galloway had also become a "public Friend" early in the eighteenth century, so that in July 1706 she told the Monthly Meeting that, "finding some Drawings in the Love of God to visit Friends in some Parts of Pennsylvania," she desired a certificate of Friends' unity with her. The Monthly Meeting expressed its unity with "Our well beloved Friend and Sister, Anne Galloway," at the same time speaking of its desire for her preservation and its prayer that the Lord's presence might accompany her. Her husband Samuel received a certificate of unity as he accompanied her on this visit, as did "our dear Friend and Sister Elizabeth Chew."[43]

In the spring of 1719 Robert Roberts requested a certificate of unity to visit Friends in England.[44] Samuel and Anne Galloway had already taken shipping to England before their certificate was ready, so that it was to be sent on to them when completed.[45] Both Robert Roberts and Samuel Galloway had signed the epistle from Maryland to London Yearly Meeting at the end of the May 16–20, 1719, session and must have left for England within the next several weeks. Perhaps they even sailed on the same ship or in the same fleet, for they were all in London by early July.[46]

It was the practice in London Yearly Meeting for all "ministering" or "public" Friends in the London area to present themselves at the Morning Meeting on Second Day [Monday] and then decide which meetings for worship they would attend. On July 3, Robert Roberts attended the midweek meeting at Wheeler Street and later that month he was present at Devonshire House, Grace Church Street, Horsley Downs, Peel, Savoy, and Bull and Mouth Meetings. He seems to have visited meetings outside the London region in August, September, October, and most of November, reappearing in the London area at Wrapping Meeting on November 30 and at Ratcliff Meeting on December 6.[47] Roberts had presented his certificate from Clifts Monthly Meeting signifying Maryland Friends' "unity with him and his Ministry" on July 17. On December 7, 1719, he notified the Morning Meeting that he was about to depart homeward "by way of Barbados" and desired a certificate from that Meeting. A committee was appointed to prepare a "few Lines," which they brought in on December 14 to be signed.[48] He must have returned to Maryland shortly thereafter, having completed the service to which he had felt led.

Anne Galloway, along with the well-known Thomas Story, attended Devonshire House Meeting on July 9 and visited other meetings that month at Wandsworth and Devonshire House a second time. On September 13, 1719, she was at Peel Meeting.[49] Following that, Anne and Samuel Galloway visited her sister Rebecca Butterfield (wife of Abraham) at their Buckinghamshire home "Stone Dean" on September 16, remaining there until October 6. During this period they several times visited Jordans Meeting (where William Penn was buried), as well as the meetings at Wyckham, Chesham, Amersham, and Charley Wood.[50] Upon their return to London, Anne was recorded as attending Park Meeting (October 18), Gracechurch Street (in November) and

Horsley Down in January.[51] It seems likely that during this second period she also attended other Meetings outside the London area.

Sometime early in 1720 Samuel Galloway became ill and died on April 6, 1720, at the home of Michael Love [?] in Gracechurch Street. He was buried in Bunhill Fields. For a considerable period of time Anne Galloway must have stayed with some of her sisters[52] and their families in the London area, resuming her visits to London meetings at Park Meeting (June 19), Gracechurch Street, Waltham Abbey, Savory, and Wandsworth (all in July), and Ratcliff Meeting in early August.[53] Then she visited her sister Rebecca [Rebekah] Butterfield in Buckinghamshire once more, from July 30 to August 8, 1720, before returning to London in preparation for her return to America.[54] Anne Galloway had not presented her certificate (which was late in reaching her), so that she did not ask the Morning Meeting for an endorsement of her religious service while in England.

Here we have seen twenty-five men and six women traveling from Maryland to England in the 1659–1720 period. Of these women, one (Mary Mitchell) was a widow returning to the land of her birth after the death of her husband, and another (Mary Searson) seems to have been seeking to escape the unfortunate situation in which she found herself. At least two of the men (Charles Bayly and John Taillor) never returned to Maryland but spent the remainder of their lives outside the province. At least two (William Harris and Samuel Galloway) died before they could return home. Most of these Quakers traveled for personal reasons (business, family matters, etc.), but a number of them performed very significant tasks for the benefit of their fellow Maryland Quakers (in connection with the lessening of persecution, getting relief from oaths, and resisting the move to establish the Anglican Church as the state religion in Maryland). At least two (Anne Galloway and Robert Roberts), and possibly a third (if one counts Charles Bayly as such) traveled under "religious concern," ministering to the spiritual needs of English meetings and their members.

Most of the thirty-one made the difficult round-trip voyage only once—but, surprisingly, Anne Galloway and Richard Johns went twice, Samuel Chew three times, and Samuel Galloway four times. And, to top it all off, there was the Maryland Quaker sea captain, Richard Hill, who crossed the Atlantic innumerable times (as did the English Quaker captains who regularly came to Maryland: Samuel Groome, Samuel Groome, Jr., and Thomas Lurting), thereby providing Quaker transportation for many of these Maryland Friends.

NOTES

1. Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), 1–35. See especially chapter 1, "The Atlantic Community of Early Friends," and chapter 2, "The Transatlantic Quaker Community in the Seventeenth Century."
2. Kenneth L. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970), 9–14; "Elizabeth Harris, The Founder of American Quakerism," *Quaker History*, 57 (1968): 96–111; "America's First Quakers—Where, When, and By Whom," *Quaker History*, 85 (Fall 1996): 49–59.
3. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, 14–22; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Thomas Thurston, Renegade Maryland Quaker," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 62 (1967): 170–192.
4. Letter from George Rolfe to Stephan Crisp, 15th of Ninth Month, 1661, quoted in James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850), 1:347.
5. Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 660; William Hand Brown (ed.) *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 1:339, 347, 353, 359, 369, 382, 396, 397, 429, 460; 3:8, 10, 89, 150, 173, 271, 276, 289, 313, 334, 335, 339, 364, 369.
6. See Josiah Coale to George Fox, from Maryland 21 of 11th Month, 1660, found in the A. R. Barclay MSS, No. 53. These manuscripts are found in Friends House Library, London. cf. Francis Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations Discovered, And his Cruelty Made Manifest* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1660); R(ichard) Hawkins (compiler), *A Brief Narrative of the Life and Death of Ancient Servant of the Lord and his People, Gilbert Latey* (London: J. Sowle, 1707). See also Kenneth L. Carroll, "Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland (1658–1661), *Quaker History*, 53 (1964): 67–80.
7. Letter from William Caton to Margaret Fell, Ulverston, 10th of 4th Month (June), 1660. Swarthmore MSS, 1:372 (Tr. 1:412).
8. John Perrot, *Glorious Glimmerings of Life of Love, Unity, And Pure Joy* (London: Robert Wilson, 1663), 15; Swarthmore MSS 4:39 (tr. 4:293) in Friends House Library, London.
9. cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot, Early Quaker Schismatic* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1970, Supplement 33), especially 30–33.
10. Kenneth L. Carroll, "From Bond Slave to Governor: The Strange Career of Charles Bayly," *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 52 (1968): 19–38.
11. Henry J. Cadbury, ed., *The Swarthmore Documents in America* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1940), Supplement 20, 86. This is a copy of a letter from John Garey to George Fox, dated 21. iv. 1674, from "The Clifts."
12. Kenneth L. Carroll, "The Honorable Thomas Taillor: A Tale of Two Wives," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 85 (1990): 379–394.
13. Ibid., 382–390.
14. Maryland Yearly and Half Yearly Minutes, 1677–1758, and some Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 13. I have used the microfilm copy at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

15. Minutes of the Monthly Meeting held at Clifts, Herring Creek, West River, and Indian Springs, 1677–1771, 5 (available on microfilm at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).
16. Minutes of Baltimore Quarterly Meeting, 1682–1709, 6 (available on microfilm at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College); Minutes of the Monthly Meeting at Clifts, Herring Creek (etc.), 1677–1771, 12.
17. Minutes of Baltimore Quarterly Meeting, 1682–1709, 4; cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "The Anatomy of a Separation: The Lynam Controversy," *Quaker History,* 55 (1966): 67–78. Mary Searson later returned to Maryland and, after the death of Edward, married a second time.
18. Minutes of Baltimore Quarterly Meeting, 1682–1709, 12.
19. Minutes of Monthly Meeting at Clifts, Herring Creek (etc.), 1677–1771, 16 (21st of 11th Month, 1686).
20. Carroll, "The Honorable Thomas Taillor," 383, 386.
21. Richard Johns to George Fox, from Maryland 28. 1. 1688, found in the A. R. Barclay MSS, no. 54. Johns had carried with him a certificate which recommended him as a solid member of the Society.
22. Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, London Yearly Meeting, 6 (1687–1688): 68, 72, 73, 79, 82, 92, 114, 115, 170.
23. Marriages, Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, RG6 no. 1437, 731. Now on deposit in the Public Records Office, Chancery Lane, London.
24. Birth Registers Digests, London and Middlesex, Friends House, London.
25. cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 65 (1970): 149–170.
26. Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America,* 1:358.
27. Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, 12:47 (13th of 9th Month, 1697).
28. Ibid., 11 (1696–1697): 249, 275, 281, 284 and 12 (1697–1698): 3, 30, 142, 182.
29. Morning Meeting Minutes, 2 (1692–1700): 200, 201, found in Friends House Library, London.
30. Thomas Chalkley, *A Collection of the Works of Thomas Chalkley* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1740), 12–13. Chalkey mentions Richard Johns as returning home on the same ship and, shortly after landing, going to Johns's house and holding a meeting there.
31. James Backhouse, *The Life and Correspondence of William and Alice Ellis of Airton* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849), 47, 50, 52.
32. Henry C. Peden, Jr. (ed.), *Quaker Records of Southern Maryland* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1992), 53.
33. Chalkley, *Works,* 31.
34. Epistles Received, 1 (1683–1706): 305–307, found in Friends House Library, London.
35. West River Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1698–1759, 5.
36. Epistles Sent, 1 (1683–1706): 372–373, found in Friends House Library, London. Joseph Wyeth, *An Answer to a Letter from Dr. Bray,* etc. (London: T. Sowle, 1700), and (Thomas Bray), *A Letter from Thomas Bray to Such as Have Contributed Toward the Propagating of Christian Knowledge in the Plantations* (New York: William Bradford, 1700).

37. Minutes of the Monthly Meeting held at Clifts, Herring Creek (etc.), 1677–1771, 39, 40, 43.
38. Ibid., 67 (8th of 4th Month, 1711).
39. West River Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1698–1759, 60, 72.
40. Ibid., 65.
41. Ibid., 85.
42. Minutes of the Monthly Meeting held at Clifts, Herring Creek (etc.), 1677–1771, 46, 54, 73.
43. Ibid., 42 (12th of the 5th Month, 1706).
44. Ibid., 105 (29th of 3rd Month, 1719).
45. West River Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1698–1759, 97 (26th of 4th Month, 1719).
46. Book of Ministering Friends, 1717–1721, passim, found at Friends House Library, London.
47. Morning Meeting Minutes, 4 (1711–1734): 163, 167, 168.
48. Diary of Rebecca Butterfield (MS. Vol. S73, Friends House Library, London), unpaged.
49. Book of Ministering Friends, 1717–1721, passim.
50. Burial Registers Digest for London and Middlesex, Friends House Library, London.
51. Anne Webb Galloway had a number of sisters who continued to live in the London area as well as her sister in Buckinghamshire.
52. Book of Ministering Friends, 1717–1721, passim.
53. Diary of Rebecca Butterfield.
54. The Galloways, whose certificate reached London some time after they did, seem to have presented it to Devonshire House Monthly Meeting. It was dated 26th of 4th Month (June), 1710. She requested a certificate of satisfaction with her "Public Testimony for Truth" on the 7th of 7th Month (September), 1720, being now about to return to Maryland; cf. Devonshire House Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3 (1707–1727): 304. Her brother-in-law, Thomas Brown, requested a certificate for her from the Two Weeks Meeting in London, which granted one on the 12th of 7th Month, 1720, signed by twenty-four women Friends and twenty-two male Friends. Addressed to the Monthly Meeting at West River, it read as follows: "Now, these may Certifie you or whom it may Concern that we have had good unity with her, Respecting Her Publick Testimony, and that she hath Adorned the Doctrine She Professes, by her Humble and Exemplary Conversation: And we humbly Beseech the Almighty may by his Good Providence Conduct her safe to her Outward Habitation, and Bless her Service and Labour of love amongst you, so with the Salutation of dear love, we remain your Friends — Brethren and Sisters"; cf. Book of Certificates, 1716–1767, 33, found at Friends House Library, London.

Tea and Empathy: Nineteenth-Century English Visitors in Baltimore

ISABEL SHIPLEY CUNNINGHAM

This article examines the observations of a small but acute group of English travelers who visited Baltimore individually during the nineteenth century. In 1986 the author spent four days at St. Deiniol's Residential Library at Hawarden (pronounced Harden) in Wales. Hawarden was the home of Prime Minister William E. Gladstone. At his death in 1898, he endowed St. Deiniol's and provided 30,000 books from his personal library as the nucleus of its collection. The handsome stone edifice includes administrative offices, common rooms, lecture rooms, a dining hall, a dormitory, and an impressive galleried library containing more than 125,000 books. From those volumes, some containing the Prime Minister's bookplate, the author chose seven that relate Victorian visitors' impressions of their travels in or near Baltimore.

From the earliest colonial days, English travelers undertook the long and hazardous journey to America and recorded their impressions of our dwellings, public buildings, institutions, customs, and natural endowments. George Allsop's *A Character of the Province of Maryland,* published in 1666, promoted the colony with the purpose of attracting settlers; other writers were more critical of their American cousins. Though nineteenth-century English visitors to Baltimore were discriminating, they found much to admire. Their general impressions are of a prosperous city remembered for fine public buildings and monuments, stately and hospitable homes, and beautiful and fashionable women.

Joseph Hamilton approached Baltimore from Philadelphia about 1830. From Lancaster he rode on the straw-filled floor of a covered cart. As he crossed the Susquehanna River on a wooden bridge, the moonlight revealed fine scenery—giant trees, rocks, and the frozen river. As he traveled, he noted that "it was impossible to adhere to those conventional regulations in regard to servants which in England are held to be inviolable." He was "stretched alongside" his servant in the straw and "trampled on by a common hawker of thimbles and pocket handkerchiefs!" But he could not complain because, "in the United States, no man can put forth pretentions of superiority of any kind without exciting unpleasant observation."[1]

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Seating at the dining table in York was as democratic as Hamilton's traveling arrangements. "It is the invariable custom in this country for all the passengers of a stagecoach to eat at the same table," he wrote. Yet "a traveller's sufferings are rarely connected with the table. Go where he may, he finds an abundance of good and wholesome food." Dinner generally included ham, turkey, and "a joint of some kind."[2]

The remainder of the journey to Baltimore was by sleigh—rough boards nailed together to form an oblong box with a roof of "common calico." Hamilton was one of six passengers who sat in the oblong box on narrow cross-boards without any back support. Doubtless he was delighted to reach Baltimore and the comforts of the Indian Queen, where he was "perhaps, more comfortable than in any other [inn] during the whole course of my tour." He decided that the city "very much resembles Boston."[3]

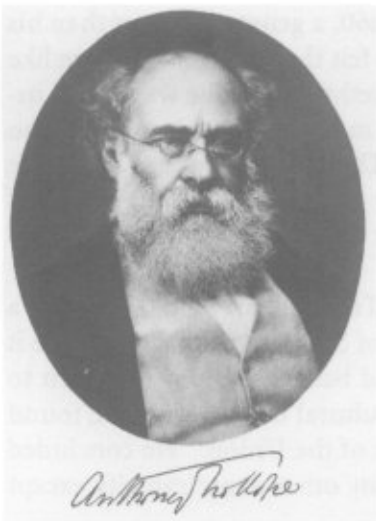
Undaunted by the trip from Lancaster to Baltimore, Hamilton planned to go to Annapolis to see the legislature in session, but his friends in Baltimore were "exceedingly adverse" to this proposal. They warned him "that he would meet with nothing in Annapolis to repay the trouble of the journey; that the inns were bad, the roads still worse, and their representatives very far from the incarnation of good breeding or absolute wisdom."[4]

When Hugh Murray came to Baltimore, he was impressed by its growth from 16,000 inhabitants in 1796 to almost 70,000 in the late 1820s. Within thirty years, he wrote, "Baltimore has suddenly become the greatest city in the Union, New York and Philadelphia alone excepted. All that prosperity, which was vainly desired and destined for Washington, has flowed into her." He praised the regular streets with "many extremely good houses built chiefly of brick" and the recently constructed spacious Cathedral, the principal public building in Baltimore.[5]

Frances Trollope, mother of the novelist Anthony Trollope, approached Baltimore in 1830 from Ohio through "the Alleghany Alps"—a world of mountains both "savage, vast, and wild" and "green, bright, and blooming." She was glad to reach a remarkably comfortable inn at Hagerstown where she felt "fully aware that we had left Western America behind us."[6]

Closer to Baltimore, she observed that "the look of cultivation increased" and houses appeared to be "abodes of competence and comfort." Baltimore was "one of the handsomest cities to approach in the Union," she wrote, because it was built on a "commanding eminence" with the Washington Monument and the dome of the Catholic Cathedral visible at a great distance. She admired the handsome public buildings she passed and the private homes that "have a look of magnificence from the abundance of white marble with which many of them are adorned."[7]

Reaching her hotel, Mrs. Trollope was sure that, "if we had not arrived in London or Paris, we had, at least, left far behind the half-horse, half-alligator tribes of the West, as the Kentuckians call themselves." Her hotel was said to



Frances Trollope (right) and her son, Anthony Trollope, visited Baltimore in the nineteenth century. Frances pronounced it to be among the "handsomest" cities in America, while Anthony, photographed about 1880, praised Chesapeake cuisine. (Courtesy George Peabody Library of the Johns Hopkins University.)

be the finest in the Union and was "certainly splendid enough for a people more luxurious than the citizens of the republic appear yet to be."[8]

The Look of an English Town

The Irish comedian Tyrone Power alone approached the city by water, arriving in 1834: "We neared the well-closed harbour amidst a fleet of some one hundred and fifty sail of all sizes and of every variety of rig, from the simple two-sailed heavy sloop to that perfection of naval architecture, the Clipper schooner of Baltimore." The city "rises gradually as it spreads over the face of the irregular hill it occupies." He observed that it "has very much the look of an English country town, and the air of the shops is wholly English." Like Hamilton, he compared the city to Boston.[9]

With a Scottish friend, Power ventured on horseback a few hours' hard ride north and west of the city. There he emerged from a thickly-wooded hillside above a stream "skirted on the opposite bank by a fair meadow, itself bounded again by a wooded height yet more stony and steep than that by which we sought to descend; on our right, in an angle of the meadow, stood a farmhouse, roughly built of grey stone and lime, surrounded by numerous offices [outbuildings]; lower down the brook stood a mill of similar character." When he descended to the stream and looked upward, the view was "glen-like and as wild as Scottish imagination could desire."[10]

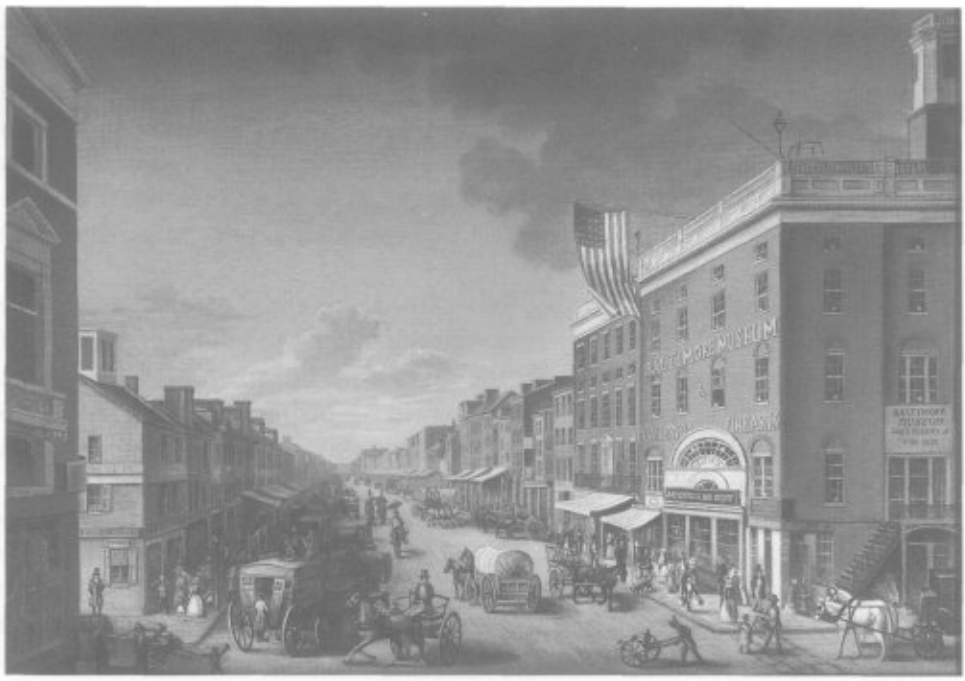
Anthony Trollope came to Baltimore about 1860, a generation later than his mother, Hamilton, Murray, and Power. He too felt that the city "is more like an English town than most of its transatlantic brethren, and the ways of its inhabitants are English." He met a gentleman, a member of a hunt club, who told him that packs of hounds were kept here. "The country looks as a hunting country should look, whereas no man who ever crossed a field after a pack of hounds would feel the slightest wish to attempt that process in New England or New York."[11]

On the corner of Eutaw and Franklin streets, Trollope saw an old inn with a sign "just such as may still be seen in the towns of Somersetshire, and before it are to be seen old wagons, covered with soil and battered, about to return to the country, just as the wagons do in our agricultural counties. I have found nothing so thoroughly English in any other part of the Union." He concluded that he would rather live in Baltimore than in any other American city except Boston.[12]

When George Sala reached Baltimore around 1880, he also observed the city's likeness to his homeland. From his window at the Mount Vernon Hotel, he saw "an ampitheatre of handsome villas" with shining white marble steps that made him think he was in upper Brighton. After extending his range of vision, he noticed "gentle acclivities crowned by groups of really stately mansions of red brick. . . . Surely, I reasoned, this must be Bath." However, he observed "American citizens of African descent" walking about and decided that he was not in Brighton or Bath but in Baltimore, "one of the comeliest, the most sociable, the most refined, and the most hospitable cities in the United States."[13]

After driving around the city in an open carriage drawn by a pair of horses, Sala observed that the town was hilly, its surface presenting "a most agreeable diversity of ups and downs." He decided that Baltimore was most like the English York, "not only ecclesiastically but municipally," because of the vast number of churches and the quantity of "tall, grave, and dignified" mansions with flights of stone steps. The dwellings have a strikingly Georgian look, he wrote, and many are "handsome enough to have been built by that much maligned but really very capable architect, Sir John Vanbrugh."[14]

Of this group of travelers, only William Smith, a Yorkshireman who did not arrive in Baltimore until about 1890, journeyed from Philadelphia by train. "We went through several tunnels which were made at a cost of a million pounds sterling, one of these tunnels being close upon a mile and a half in length," he reported. After reaching the railway station, he entered the city by North Charles Street. On the way to his hotel he had a clear view of the recently completed Johns Hopkins Hospital, "a noble charity erected in fine and substantial buildings." Though Smith called Baltimore picturesque and believed that the elegant houses represented wealth and comfort, he said that he saw many cities in America that he preferred.[15]



The bustling commercial center of Baltimore Street looking west from Calvert Street, circa 1840. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Snugly Installed

Sala alone described the interior of his hotel. After being "snugly installed" in the quiet and beautifully furnished Mount Vernon on a Saturday evening in 1880, he complained only of the exorbitant price of his room—four dollars a day exclusive of meals. However, he admitted that his handsome room "served all the purposes of a bedroom and a sitting room." After learning that his hotel on Monument Street near Monument Square had been the mansion of a wealthy magnate, he observed painted ceilings, elaborately carved mantels, and walls covered with stamped and gilded Cordovan leather, ample evidence that it had been occupied by "an affluent private gentleman of taste and culture." To the original building, the owners had added a spacious restaurant.[16]

Exploring further, Sala found "lofty parlours and drawing rooms richly furnished with Brussels and Aubusson carpets, crystal chandeliers, handsomely framed mirrors, amber satin and white lace window curtains, tapestried portières, and console tables adorned with bronzes, marble statuettes, and Sèvres and Minton china." A former library with carved oak bookcases served as a smoking lounge and reading room. "In the marble halls dwell a continuous contingent of dark servants, all very civil and serviceable fellows," he wrote. Ladies were provided with a handsomely carpeted side entrance to the hotel.[17]

On Sunday morning, Sala's rest was interrupted by "the persistent booming

of church bells that rang me into a most irreverent and un-Sunday-like state of exasperation." From a theological viewpoint, he concluded, on Sunday Baltimore was "unexceptionally admirable, but in a secular and sociable sense, it was undeniably most deplorably and desperately dull." There was nothing to do but to go to church. "I was wicked enough to wish to get shaved," but a hotel barber explained that it was against state law to shave a customer in public on Sunday; however, he could come to a customer's room to perform that service.[18]

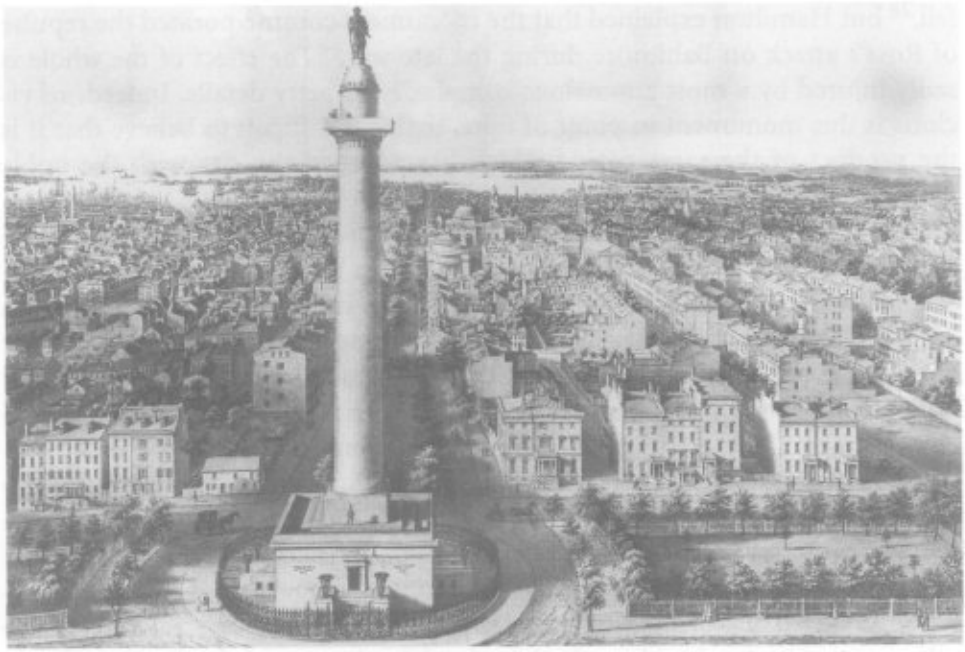
From Monday through Saturday, Sala learned, one could order whatever one chose at the bar. On Sunday, however, "from midnight to midnight, the Law of the State inexorably closes not only the dram shop but the hotel bar." Yet he found that it was not necessary to be thirsty in his bedroom. "You have but to ring your bell, and a smiling attendant will bring you whatsoever you require in the way of stimulants. The same tolerance extends to the dinner table."[19]

Though Americans he had met in England had promised Sala a hearty reception at the Maryland Club, on "Dead Sunday" he found himself in "a city renowned for its courtesy to strangers . . . without anybody to talk to." He therefore hired an open carriage and toured the city. "Not a cigar shop, not a fruit or candy store or ice-cream saloon was open." Pharmacies were the solitary exception. He saw few people, for "the fair city of Baltimore seemed to be lying dead in its sarcophagus." When evening came, the bells began to ring for church services again. But on Monday morning, Baltimore proved to be "a vivacious and cheerful city, full not only of commercial bustle and activity, but of social amenity and refinement."[20]

Worthily Fitted Up

In addition to general impressions of Baltimore, nineteenth-century English visitors also commented on the public buildings, parks, and monuments, especially the Cathedral, the Washington Monument, and the Battle Monument. About 1830, Hamilton, Power, and Frances Trollope described the "Archiepiscopal [*sic*] Cathedral." Hamilton was least kind. He considered "the effect of the building poor" and the dome "by no means happily proportioned to the dimensions of the building." He also criticized the few inferior pictures, some of which had been presented by the late King of France [Louis XVIII, 1755–1824].[21] Power called the interior "good" and the altar "most worthily fitted up." However, he found the imposing effect marred by "regular lines of exceedingly comfortable but most un-Catholic-looking pews."[22]

Mrs. Trollope attended mass at the Cathedral and was impressed most by the splendid appearance of the congregation, crediting the interior only with "an air of neatness that amounts to elegance." She too felt that the proportions were poor, the dome too low, and the supporting arches too flattened and too wide for their height. She agreed that the admiration accorded the two paint-



"View of Baltimore, 1850." Visitors to Baltimore frequently commented on the beauty of the city's stately homes and the landmark Washington Monument. (Maryland Historical Society.)

ings presented by Louis XVIII "is an incontestable indication of the state of art in this country."[23]

Both early and later English visitors admired the Washington Monument and Washington himself as well. Hamilton noted that Baltimore was the first city "to raise an architectural memorial to George Washington—a white column of marble rising from a quadrangular base. The shaft of the column is about 120 feet high, and is surmounted by a colossal statue which seems proudly to overlook the city." He felt that the simple and good design "does honor to the taste of the city."[24] Power climbed to the top of the monument, calling it "a noble column and splendidly put together, of workmanship and material calculated to endure"; however, he found the statue itself ineffective and not like "the great original."[25]

During the later years of the century, Sala viewed the "really grandiose and imposing columnar monument to George Washington" and admired its situation on a hill one hundred feet above the level of the Patapsco River at high tide.[26] Smith called the monument "handsome," but appeared more interested in the setting than the monument itself. He described the broad avenue at the top of a hill, the terraced walk and fountain, and the lawns and gardens nearby.[27]

Despite its connection to a recent British defeat, the Battle Monument also drew the attention of visitors. Murray simply noted that a second columnar monument commemorated the battle in which Britain's General Robert Ross

fell,[28] but Hamilton explained that the monument commemorated the repulse of Ross's attack on Baltimore during the late war. "The effect of the whole is sadly injured by a most anomalous complexity of petty details. Indeed, so vicious is this monument in point of taste, that it is difficult to believe that it is the product of the same period which has adorned the city with the noble structure to Washington."[29]

Hamilton added that a lady had apologized to him for the painful feelings that the monument "could not fail to excite in an English spectator." He commented that John Bull was not as sensitive as the lady supposed, and "the idea of an Englishman of the present day being distressed at the failure of the attack on Baltimore is perhaps closely connected to the ludicrous."[30]

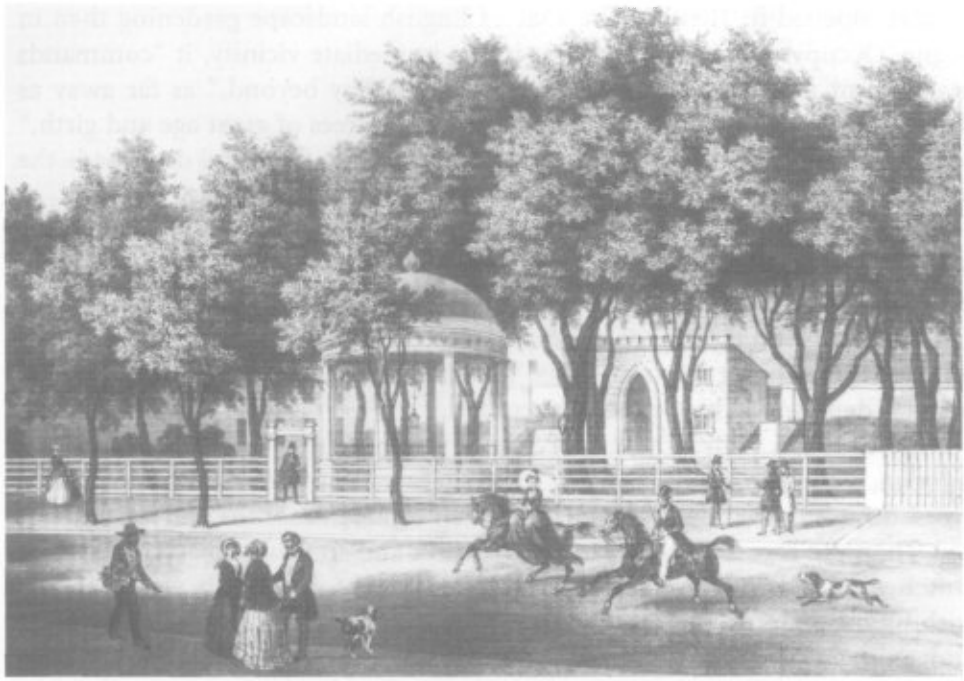
Toward the end of the century, William Smith was even less partisan than Hamilton had been. He described the Battle Monument, a marble shaft fifty-three feet high "which was raised to the memory of the brave men of the city who fell during the British invasion of 1814. . . . It commemorates a warfare against the States which was not called for, and, indeed, was a wanton attempt to destroy a national edifice, which had hitherto been respected in contests between civilized nations." Smith regretted that his short stay made visits to other monuments, churches, the Maryland Institute, and the Peabody Institute impossible.[31]

Agreeing with his countryman's comments on a monument erected in memory of "citizens who fell in defense of Baltimore in September, 1814," George Sala wrote, "An Englishman can never think without bitter chagrin and vexation of the veterans of the Peninsular campaigns, the flower of Wellington's conquering legions, frittered away in one of the pettiest and most purposeless wars that was ever concerted by a knot of unusually stupid statesmen."[32]

Touching and Impressive Character

Frances Trollope described several locations that the gentlemen seemed to have missed. She also observed the vast number of churches that seemed out of proportion with the population of Baltimore, but she commented on the fine Unitarian Church, "the handsomest I have ever seen dedicated to that mode of worship." The jewel of them all, she wrote, was the small chapel of the Catholic college dedicated to St. Mary. The sequestered garden behind the chapel, "notwithstanding its fairy dimensions, has something of a holiness and quiet about it that excites the imagination strangely. The little chapel itself has the same touching and impressive character . . . more calculated, perhaps, to generate holy thoughts than even the swelling anthem heard beneath the resounding dome of St. Paul's."[33]

Mrs. Trollope also found several marble fountains that added to the beauty of the city. Her favorite was sheltered by a roof supported by light columns. "The water flows into a marble cistern, to which you descend by a flight of



Baltimore City Spring Number Six. City parks and springs attracted visitors and residents. (Maryland Historical Society.)

steps of a delicate whiteness, and return by another." On the marble steps she observed "groups of negro girls, some carrying water on their heads . . . and some tripping gaily with their yet unfilled pitchers."[34]

She ventured two miles beyond the city to see Fort McHenry, "nobly situated on the Potapsco [*sic*], and commanding the approach from the Chesapeake Bay. . . . The walk to the Fort is along a fine terrace of beautiful verdure, which commands a magnificent view of the city with its columns, towers, domes, and shipping, and also of the Potapsco river, which is here so wide as to present almost a sea view."[35]

When Sala and Smith came to Baltimore fifty and sixty years later, respectively, they saw places that had been completed after Mrs. Trollope's visit. Smith admired the City Hall, "the finest building in the place. It is a marble structure covering an entire block and erected at a cost of 400,000 pounds." From its two-hundred-foot dome, he enjoyed the fine view over the city and harbor.[36]

George Smith considered Druid Hill Park "one of the handsomest pleasances to be found in any city in the United States." He related that the park had been laid out during the preceding century (he erred: the park, situated on 475 acres purchased by the city from Lloyd Nicholas Rogers for $1,000

an acre, opened in 1860) in the style of English landscape gardening then in vogue. Occupying the highest point in the immediate vicinity, it "commands magnificent views of stately Baltimore and the Bay beyond," as far away as Kent Island and Annapolis. "Splendid thickets of trees of great age and girth," as well as a cascade, a lake, verdant lawns, and herds of graceful deer made the park memorable.[37]

Some early nineteenth-century visitors took an interest not only in public buildings, parks, and monuments but also in the city's cultural offerings. Murray noted that Baltimore had two universities, "one founded on a Roman Catholic basis, though it has educated eminent men in every profession; the other of more recent erection, called the University of Maryland, but only the medical department has yet been organized."[38]

Mrs. Trollope visited the Infant School that had been founded by an Englishman, a Mr. Ibbertson, and was greatly pleased with the arrangements provided for a hundred boys and girls between eighteen months and six years of age. They had access to "all sorts of instructive and amusing objects" including Dutch toys and many sets of large wooden blocks. The walls were papered with bright patterns and decorated with excellent colored engravings of birds and animals. She was impressed especially by "a geographical model large enough to give a clear idea of continent, cape, and island, all set in water." The children were "elegantly neat," well bred, intelligent, and "totally free from rude indifference, which is so remarkably prevalent in the manners of American children."[39]

Frances Trollope did not miss the handsome Peale Museum which was "superintended by one of the Peale family, well known for their devotion to natural history and to works of art." She was not in Baltimore during the theater season, but she heard that it was not "a popular or fashionable amusement."[40]

Tyrone Power found both the Front Street and Holliday Street Theaters open in November. The Holliday was "the aristocratic house," he reported, and the Front the choice of "the sturdy democracy of the good city." Fanny Kemble was appearing at the Holliday, "a huge theatre nearly as large as Covent Garden" where Power and his companions "were uproariously merry" and "bestowed upon the performance a double allowance of applause."[41]

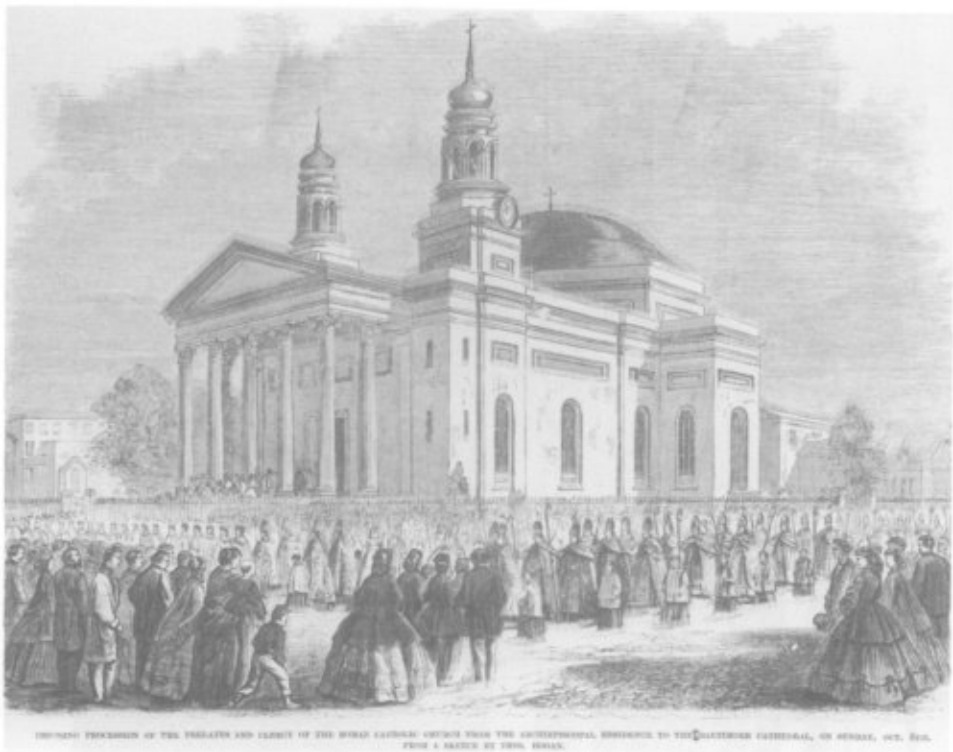
Frances Trollope observed the contrasting forms of worship among different congregations she visited. At a solemn service at the Cathedral, she "was perfectly astonished at the beauty and splendid appearance of the ladies who filled it. Excepting only a very brilliant Sunday at the Tuileries, I never saw so showy a display of morning costume." The congregation listened attentively to the sermon, "and I really wished, in Christian charity, that something better had rewarded it."[42]

In contrast to the dignified service at the Cathedral, Mrs. Trollope attended a revival service where the church was filled almost entirely by women who "vied with each other in howlings and contortions of the body; many of them

The Peale Museum, one of the city's first cultural attractions, in an undated photograph. (Maryland Historical Society.)

tore their clothes nearly off." Despite the disgust she felt, she was entertained by "the vehemence of the negro part of the congregation; they seemed determined to bellow louder than the rest to show at once their piety and their equality." A slave in the home where she was staying explained that "she liked religion right well, but she never took fits in it" because she wore her best clothes and did not want to tear them.[43]

Fifty years later, George Sala was impressed by the large number of churches in Baltimore for a population of 300,000 people. The Baptists, he noticed, have "a vast marble church in Eutaw-place with a bell-tower 187 feet



The Basilica of the Assumption, circa 1870. Religious processions attracted the attention of city visitors. (Maryland Historical Society.)

high. The Presbyterians have a church with three towers, the principal one being 250 feet high." He counted twelve Jewish synagogues and numerous places of worship for the "coloured" people, though many were communicants in churches attended by white worshippers. With the exception of Quaker meeting houses, all churches were "amply provided with bells which boom and brawl from sunrise to sunset."[44]

An Abstract Impression

Black Americans were of special interest to English visitors. Hamilton admitted that he had never seen a slave and had only "an abstract impression of the whole class." At the Indian Queen, he saw "decent-looking waiters and housemaids" who were distinguished from European servants by nothing but color. He believed that Maryland "will not long continue to be disgraced by the existence of slavery within its boundaries" because slavery there resulted from habit and prejudice, not necessity. Slave labor could be replaced by freedmen "to the benefit of landed proprietors and the general advancement of morals in the whole community," he concluded.[45]

Opportunity for English visitors to observe slavery was generally limited to an urban setting. Frances Trollope saw "negro girls" singing at work "in the soft rich voice peculiar to their race." All were dressed "with that strict attention to taste and smartness which seems the distinguishing characteristic of Baltimore females of all ranks." She decided that the condition of American slaves "does not generally appear to be bad, but the ugly feature is that, should it be so, they have no power to change it." The worst part, she admitted, was that they could be sold and sent south to work on sugar and rice plantations.[46]

Our English travelers did not fail to appreciate the famed beauty and sense of fashion of the women of Baltimore. After mass at the Cathedral, Mrs. Trollope admitted that "I never saw anywhere as many beautiful women at one glance. They all appeared to be in full dress and were really all beautiful." Later, in the nation's capital, she noted that the ladies dressed well, "but not so splendidly as at Baltimore."[47]

Hamilton also bore witness to the justice of Baltimore's reputation for the beauty of its women. "The ladies of Baltimore are remarkable for personal attraction; indeed, I am not aware that, in proportion to the numbers assembled, I have ever seen so much beauty as at the parties of Baltimore." He admitted that "the figure is perhaps deficient in height, but sylphlike and graceful." Features, he observed, are generally regular and delicately modeled, and "the fair Baltimoreans are less remarkable than American ladies usually are for the absence of a certain fullness and grace of proportions."[48]

Sala noticed that feminine fashions were serious matters in Baltimore in the 1880s. The local papers announced that hoop skirts "threaten to come once more into fashion," the new shade of purple was called "dahlia," plaid stockings were to have checks set diagonally, and a fashionable lady must carry a leopard-skin muff. He saw many well-dressed ladies intent on shopping on Charles and Baltimore Streets. A lady's chapeau was "inordinately costly" at twenty-five dollars. Even a baby's straw bonnet cost the astounding price of seven dollars. Sala blamed American tariffs for these prices because they imposed "an almost prohibitory duty" on imported goods.[49]

Though Baltimore was known for its fashionable and beautiful women, the city was equally famous for its hospitality and its distinctive cuisine. "In no other city in the United States is hospitality so frequent and habitual," Hamilton wrote. "The tone of conversation is lighter and more agreeable, and topics of mere commercial interest are rarely obtruded at the dinner table." He felt that the Baltimorean's "average literary accomplishment is perhaps lower than that in Philadelphia or in Boston," but he admitted that a transient visitor could make only "an uncertain and very fallible judgment." His memories of the city were "of the most agreeable kind."[50]

Birds of Paradise

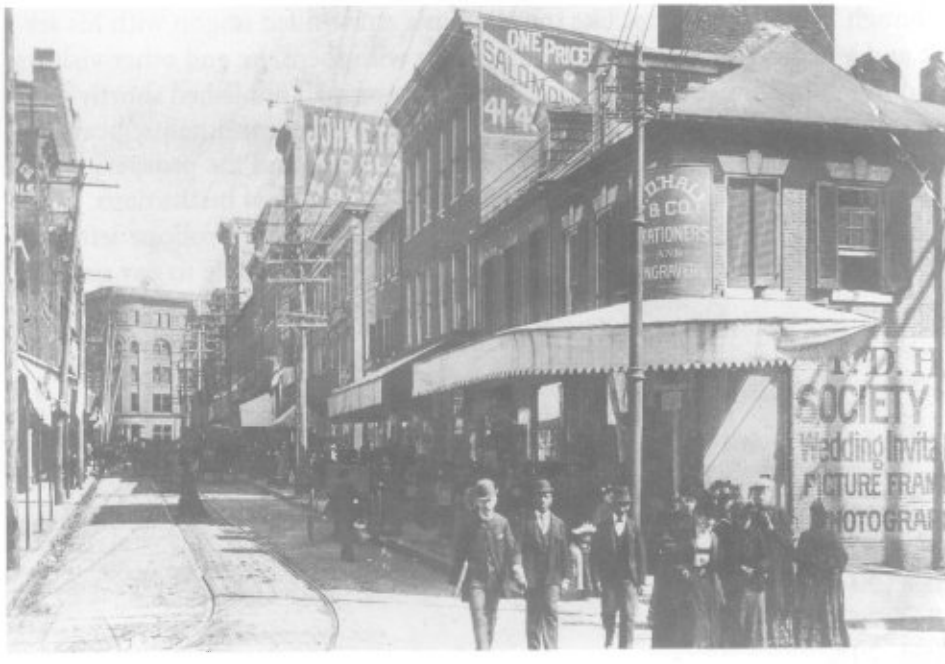
When Anthony Trollope came to America in the mid-nineteenth century, he considered the canvasback duck and the terrapin "the great glories of Baltimore." He praised the Chesapeake Bay, "blessed beyond all other bays" by the presence of canvasback ducks. "Nature has done a great deal for the state of Maryland, but in nothing more than in sending thither these web-footed Birds of Paradise." He nevertheless declined an invitation to join a shooting party when he learned that "I should have to ensconce myself alone for hours in a wet wooden box on the water's edge, waiting there for the chance of a duck to come to me." The Chesapeake terrapin, he explained, is a small turtle from which a rich soup is made. "It is held in great respect. I must, however, confess that the terrapin had for me no surpassing charms."[51]

The blue crab was not valued at the time of his visit, but Sala mentions another gift of the bay. He observed that "some gay young blades" knew how to enjoy themselves. "Accidentally peeping" into a stately private dining room, he saw a table laid for four in Delmonico style with bouquets, ferns, silver candelabra, and crystal. "The sable waiters were bringing in Blue Point oysters on the halfshell when I fled disconsolate to the desolate public dining room." But he lacked only sprightly company there, for he dined on green turtle and venison steak.[52]

The basis for prosperity that English visitors observed—the stately homes, fashionably dressed women, and generous hospitality—was commerce. Hamilton noted that "the trade of Baltimore is considerable; yet there is less appearance of bustle and business than either in New York or Boston." In 1830 the city was said to be "the greatest mart of flour" in the world. However, its trade had declined. Wealth had flowed to America during the Napoleonic Wars, he said, because she then enjoyed the carrying trade of the world, "while her flag had only to brave the breeze, and not the battle." Mr. Madison's proclamation of war ended the innumerable benefits of neutrality, Hamilton observed, and the end of war in Europe left other nations free to pursue commerce.[53]

Baltimore's "quays are no longer thronged with a busy and bustling crowd," Hamilton wrote, "as in the good old times when people in Europe cut each other's throats because they happened to live on different sides of the Pyrenees or were divided by the Rhine." Baltimoreans, he believed, "deplore the decrease of pugnacity among their European brethren," and he had heard the toast, "'A bloody war in Europe,' drunk with enthusiasm." If wealth must flow from such a source as war, he concluded, "it could not have a better destination than the purses of the good citizens of Baltimore, who would not fail to employ it liberally in acts of benevolence and hospitality."[54]

While Hamilton was in Baltimore, he "enjoyed the honor of introduction" to Charles Carroll, "the last survivor of that band of brave men who signed the declaration of their country's independence." Though Carroll was ninety-five years old at the time, Hamilton found his conversation lively and informative.



Lexington Street in Baltimore, circa 1895. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Carroll spoke of Adams, Jay, Jefferson, and Hamilton, "sons of stormy struggle, in which he himself had partaken with honorable distinction." Carroll remembered Baltimore when it was "a pretty fishing hamlet of some half dozen houses." He had lived to see his countrymen "as happy as the unfettered enjoyment of their great material advantages and the institutions of broadest democracy can make them." Hamilton felt certain that Carroll had lived in the most eventful period of American history.[55]

Fifty years after Hamilton's visit, Sala found Baltimore still prosperous. "Exchange-place in Lombard Street was the focus of the heaviest business," he noticed, because the Merchant's Exchange, Post Office, and Customs House were in that locality. He learned that Baltimore Street was both "the chief emporium" of retail business and "the principal promenade of female beauty and fashion."[56]

This group of English visitors to Baltimore was sympathetic to democracy and remarkably charitable in their comments about our revolutionary leaders and our two wars with England. Occasionally they were critical of customs or manners, but generally they were appreciative guests and kind in their judgments. Only Mrs. Trollope, who arrived an enthusiastic and idealistic supporter of democratic society, concluded that American emphasis on equality had destroyed the opportunity to develop proper manners and true culture. Despite the cultural deficiencies she observed in the new nation, however, she too enjoyed society in Baltimore.

Though Hamilton did not like traveling in a straw-filled wagon with his servant and a peddler or eating at the same table with them, he and other visitors found much to admire in Baltimore. Their accounts, all published shortly after they returned to England, praise public buildings and monuments, beautiful and fashionable women, stately and hospitable homes, and the prosperity that enabled Baltimoreans to support fine churches and cultural institutions. Most considered the city a desirable place to live, and even Mrs. Trollope left "not without regret . . . indulging in the hope that we should be able to pay another visit."[57]

NOTES

1. Joseph Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell, 1834), 2:1–4.
2. Ibid., 2:4–5.
3. Ibid., 2:6.
4. Ibid., 2:18.
5. Hugh Murray, *Discoveries and Travels in North America*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Rees, Brown, and Green, 1829), 2:415.
6. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (Oxford University Press, 1984), 167–169. This is the fifth edition of Mrs. Trollope's book; the first edition was published in 1832.
7. Ibid., 170–171.
8. Ibid., 171, 179.
9. Tyrone Power, *Impressions of America During the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835* (London: Richard Bentley, 1836), 135–136. Power, the leading Irish comedian at Drury Lane, evidently toured the United States more than once. He went down in the ship *President*, lost in a storm en route from America, in 1841. His great-grandson and namesake was a popular motion picture actor in the 1930s and 1940s.
10. Ibid., 138–139.
11. Anthony Trollope, *North America*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1862), 1:466.
12. Ibid.
13. George Augustus Sala, *America Revisited*, 2 vols. (London: Vizetelly and Co., 1882), 1:117–118.
14. Ibid., 1:117, 134–135.
15. William Smith, *A Yorkshireman's Trip to the United States and Canada* (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1892), 180–181.
16. Sala, *America Revisited*, 1:115–116, 121.
17. Ibid., 1:122–123.
18. Ibid., 1:119, 126–127.
19. Ibid., 1:127–128.

20. Ibid., 1:129, 132, 135, 140.
21. Hamilton, *Men and Manners,* 2:10.
22. Power, *Impressions of America,* 137.
23. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners,* 172–173.
24. Hamilton, *Men and Manners,* 2:12.
25. Power, *Impressions of America,* 137.
26. Sala, *America Revisited,* 1:129.
27. Smith, *A Yorkshireman's Trip,* 181.
28. Murray, *Discoveries and Travels,* 2:15.
29. Hamilton, *Men and Manners,* 2:12.
30. Ibid., 2:12–13.
31. Smith, *A Yorkshireman's Trip,* 181.
32. Sala, *America Revisited,* 1:130.
33. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners,* 174.
34. Ibid., 171–172.
35. Ibid., 179.
36. Smith, *A Yorkshireman's Trip,* 182.
37. Sala, *America Revisited,* 1:130–131.
38. Murray, *Discoveries and Travels,* 2:415–416.
39. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners,* 177–178.
40. Ibid., 174–175.
41. Power, *Impressions of America,* 140.
42. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners,* 172.
43. Ibid., 175–177.
44. Sala, *America Revisited,* 1:120–121.
45. Hamilton, *Men and Manners,* 2:7–9.
46. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners,* 172, 207.
47. Ibid., 173, 194.
48. Hamilton, *Men and Manners,* 2:14–15.
49. Sala, *America Revisited,* 1:140–143.
50. Hamilton, *Men and Manners,* 2:14.
51. Anthony Trollope, *North America,* 1:454, 466–467.
52. Sala, *America Revisited,* 1:135.
53. Hamilton, *Men and Manners,* 2:10, 16.
54. Ibid., 2:17–18.
55. Ibid., 2:19–22.
56. Sala, *America Revisited,* 1:140.
57. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners,* 179.

Portfolio

The history of amateur photography in nineteenth-century Maryland remains largely unwritten. Preliminary research points to a circle of Baltimore "gentlemen" who dabbled in the photographic arts during the mid to late 1850s. The Maryland Historical Society is pleased to present the work of one of these Maryland amateurs.

George B. Coale (1819–1887), was an insurance company executive who followed his avocation even while at his desk. "I can . . . let my negatives print themselves in my office window while I am attending to my business," he once boasted. Coale spent his leisure time walking the country lanes then surrounding Baltimore, camera and equipment slung over his shoulder, in pursuit of the perfect picture.

Sometime, perhaps in the fall of 1857, Coale traveled Falls Road from the northern city limits (then North Avenue) almost to Ruxton, selecting buildings, mills, and outcroppings "for their exercise of skill." These resulted in "views of marvellous accuracy, painted by Nature herself." He also traveled westward along the Windsor Mill Road with the same themes in mind.

Coale eventually penned a slim "Manual of Photography" for his fellow hobbyists, which appeared in 1858 and is purported to be the first guide for amateur photographers published in the United States. He later joined the New York–based Amateur Photographic Exchange Club. Founded in November 1861, these camera enthusiasts, drawn mostly from northern East Coast cities, "exchanged" or sent copies of their work to fellow members at regular intervals.

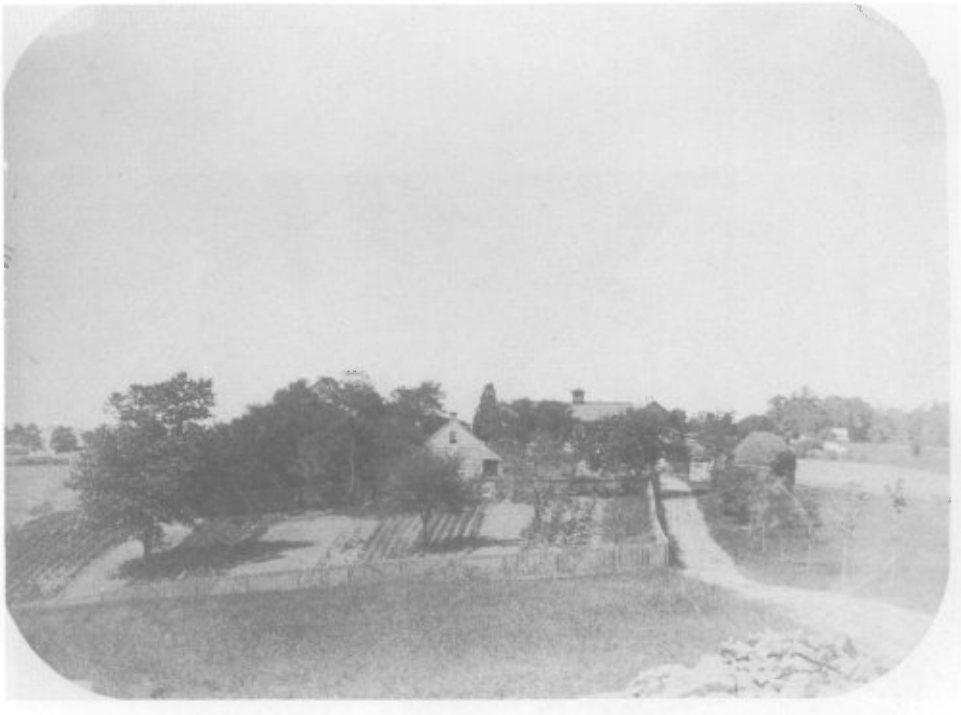
By 1863, Coale's photographic activity seems to have ebbed. That summer a friend replying to Coale's earlier letter remarked, "I am sorry to learn you have to suspend your doings . . . with your enthusiastic temperament the weaning must be difficult." Perhaps the frequent wanderings of the Confederate Army through Maryland, or the string of protective forts ringing Baltimore interfered with Coale's camera "ruralizing." It is not known if he ever resumed his camera work with the same vigor.

Coale died on March 5, 1887. His obituary, appearing in the *Baltimore American*, makes no mention of his passion for photography, describing him merely as "a man of wide information and culture."

R.W.S.

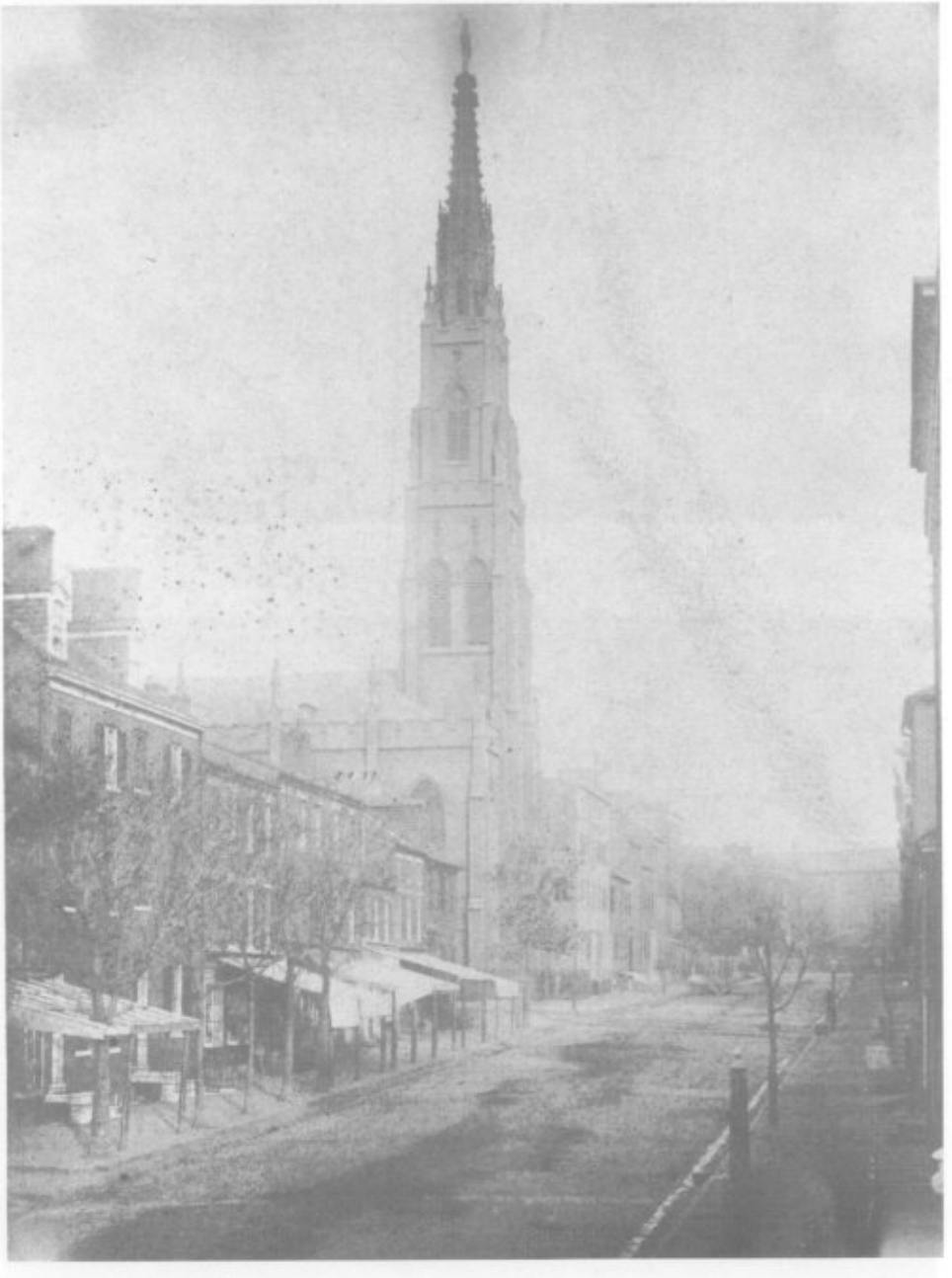
"Turnpike Gate, Falls Turnpike"

"Profile Rock, Falls Road"



Windsor Mill Road

"Blacksmith Shop"



"West Saratoga at Park Avenue"


HOT & COLD BATHS
NELSON'S HOTEL

Some photographs in this collection were annotated by the photographer. In those cases, they are reproduced here.

Book Reviews

Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution. By Jack N. Rakove. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. 455 pages. Notes, index. $35.)

Rakove's aim in this book is to continue his account, begun in an earlier work on the Articles of Confederation, of constitution-making in the United States in the revolutionary era. A second concern, arising out of the controversy over "original intent" jurisprudence in the 1980s, is to comment on the validity and legitimacy of originalism as a method of constitutional interpretation.

The original intent problem consists of two parts. First is the question whether it is possible to discover the original intent or understanding of the Constitution. The second issue is whether knowledge of original intent should be authoritative in constitutional construction and adjudication. Unlike most historians who have entered this debate, Rakove is honest enough to admit that original intent can be known. More specifically, he says it is possible to ascertain the original meaning of the text of the Constitution, the intention of those who wrote the document, and the understanding of the Constitution its ratifiers had when they voted to adopt it. Not immodestly, Rakove offers his book as "a general model of how originalist inquiries might be conducted, with due respect for canons of historical research and explanation" (xiv). The extent to which knowledge of the original meaning, intent, and understanding of the Constitution ought to be decisive in its interpretation is a normative and jurisprudential question which Rakove, faithful to his calling as a historian, does not seriously engage. Nevertheless, he has to say something about it, if for no other reason than that the title of his book creates such an expectation.

Rakove appreciates the fact that appeal to original intent signifies "the belief that preservation of the republic requires a periodic return to its founding principles and condition" (340). This appears to mean that the idea of grounding constitutional construction and adjudication on original intent is intrinsically valid and legitimate. Rakove adds that, personally, he is ambivalent about original intent jurisprudence. On the one hand, he thinks rigid adherence to the ideas of the framers and ratifiers will prevent adaptation of the Constitution to the changing circumstances that distinguish the present from the past. On the other hand, Rakove says he likes originalist arguments when they support constitutional outcomes that he favors. It is this motive of expediency and self-interest, he suggests, that explains the appeal of originalism.

One is tempted to advise Rakove to speak for himself. In his case, however, the problem is systemic, not idiosyncratic. Rakove's "insight" into the appeal of originalism is not confined to this issue, but characterizes his approach to political ideas in general. For someone writing about problems of political the-

ory and the role of ideas in the making of the Constitution, it is a peculiar attitude to assume. Like his teachers Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood, Rakove professes admiration and esteem for the intellectual achievement of the founding fathers. But his approach to the study of ideas reduces mind, reason, and thought itself to reflexive calculations of partisan advantage and personal self-interest. The tension between politics and ideas that Rakove purports to illuminate dissolves into the all too familiar reductionism of "realistic" analysis. Politics wins every time.

But this book is mainly about how the Constitution got written, not how it ought to be interpreted. The substance of the account is devoted to a detailed analysis of the deliberations in the Federal Convention. Staying well within the orthodoxy established by the republican ideological historians, Rakove argues, as a general thesis, that the Constitution replaced the Articles of Confederation with a national government, and that the chief motive guiding Madison and his Federalist colleagues was the desire to limit democratic tendencies in the state legislatures. There is nothing new in this interpretation. The contribution of the volume lies, rather, in its painstaking reconstruction of the debates over the major concepts and structural features of the Constitution. In chapters dealing with the calling of the convention, political alignments among the delegates, the discussion of federalism, representation, the presidency, ratification, and the bill of rights, Rakove provides a vast store of information showing how key provisions of the document assumed final form. Here the scholar, student, and civic-minded or historically curious citizen will learn how the members of the convention resolved their differences, or for the time being agreed to set them aside, in order to strengthen the Union of the states.

With the confidence that comes from immersion in the documentary sources, Rakove dismisses the current controversy over the tension between republicanism and liberalism in the American political ideology as a "hackneyed and increasingly sterile debate" (373n). With the impatience of the "realist" he discounts inquiry into the origin and nature of the Union as "an enticing avenue of escape whenever the task of disentangling the nuances of federalism become too tedious or threatening to pursue" (163). A veritable scientific historian, if not an American Namier, Rakove approaches originalist thinking as a problem of historical knowledge, piling fact upon fact in an attempt "to give this recurring motif in constitutional interpretation a rigor it often lacks" (11). For all the nice things it says about the intellectual genius of Madison and his friends, this is a decidedly down-to-earth book.

Refreshing though it may be in the current intellectual climate, preoccupation with factual details nevertheless does not obviate the need for theory. Sometimes it results in inconsistency that requires deeper definitional analysis. For example, Rakove asserts that the ratification of the Constitution gave the American people "a true national government" (xiii). In his analysis of federalism, however, remarking the indeterminacy of the language of the Constitu-

tion, Rakove acknowledges the power and appeal of the states' rights idea. He goes so far as to say that in ratifying the Constitution, "Each state remained a polity unto itself" (96), and that it "took the better part of a century, civil war, and the transformation of the national economy to begin [italics added] to convert the Union from a confederation into a polity more resembling a modern nation-state" (202). In what sense, then, one is inclined to ask, did the Constitution create a "true national government"?

A similar interpretive problem emerges in Rakove's treatment of the idea of the states as constituent members of the Union. In seeming agreement with nationalists at the Convention who would abolish the states, he describes the principle of the equality of the states as a "vicious principle of representation" (93). Yet he also acknowledges that the "existence of the states was simply a given fact of American governance," and that the nationalist project for reconstructing the Union had to recognize "the stubborn realities of law, politics, and history that worked to preserve the residual authority of the states" (162). While Rakove, more than most nationalist historians, recognizes the reality of states' rights, he fails to consider the significance for constitutional theory of the political reality he describes. To the scientific historian facts are facts, but they are also connected to values. The reality they constitute has a theoretical and normative significance for political action which Rakove's "realism" does not readily comprehend. The down-to-earth realism that distinguishes Rakove's work from that of historians of ideological republicanism thus has its limits, especially when the historian seeks to understand political thinkers and statesmen as they understood themselves.

HERMAN BELZ
University of Maryland, College Park

The Last American Aristocrat: The Biography of Ambassador David K. E. Bruce. By Nelson D. Lankford. (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 1996. 410 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. $27.95.)

If David K. E. Bruce had not lived, it would have been up to someone like Herman Wouk to invent him. As it was, he was very much alive, and Nelson K. Lankford presents a scholarly portrait of a truly remarkable man.

Born in the closing years of the nineteenth century, Bruce never really left it. As a child of breeding and fading wealth, he could easily have become a dilettante, lending his name and prestige to one cause or another and dabbling in the hedonistic pursuits so common to others of his class. In fact, he was headed in that direction for the first half of his life. His first marriage, to the brooding and self-destructive Ailsa Mellon, gave Bruce access to a fortune of almost incomprehensible scope. (When Ailsa Mellon Bruce died, she left half-a-billion dollars to the National Gallery, a hundred-million to each of her chil-

dren, and what were described as "lesser bequests" to other members of her family as well as close friends and employees.) Bruce was good with money and, before long, through careful study and shrewd investment, had developed a personal fortune of his own, one so painstakingly crafted and well protected, he was able to avoid, with little difficulty, the financial ruin suffered by many of his peers during the economic calamity on Wall Street in the late 1920s and the bank holidays that followed. But rather than simply enjoy his wealth and position, Bruce was clearly driven by a deep and abiding desire to be useful. Some of that drive was, no doubt, fueled by an unhappy marriage that would, eventually, end in divorce. But one may also infer, based on Mr. Lankford's painstaking research and encyclopedic knowledge of his subject, that Bruce had adopted "noblesse oblige" as his personal mantra.

A Marylander by birth and a lifelong Democrat by family direction and personal choice he was, at various times, a member of both the Maryland and Virginia legislatures. But Bruce was uncomfortable with partisan politics; uneasy with the compromises it required. On the other hand, his experience in politics would prove invaluable later on as he embarked on a career of diplomatic service to his country virtually unmatched by any other single person before or since.

Great wealth and the power inherent therein, family name and position, and youthful adventuring in France in the closing days of World War I had made of David K. E. Bruce the model on which F. Scott Fitzgerald might have created Jay Gatsby. But with the beginning of World War II, he became more a combination of "Pug" Henry and Sir Percy Blakeney, the Baroness Orczy's "Scarlet Pimpernel." His natural circumspection combined with a keen sense of order and conduct and a near genius for organization made Bruce a perfect candidate for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) which would later transmogrify into the Central Intelligence Agency. Bruce was the ideal second-in-command to the flamboyant and outspoken "Wild Bill" Donovan and, throughout the duration of the war in Europe, they were the spymasters on whom not only the United States, but most of the free world depended for intelligence and, when required, covert action against the enemy. Bruce was, himself, inclined to work in the field; he and his literary friend, Ernest Hemingway, were among the first Americans to enter Paris when it was liberated from the Germans. For most of the war, however, Bruce was the heart and soul of the OSS office in London. It was there that he met his second wife, the bright, vivacious, and stunningly beautiful Evangeline Bell. It was a perfect match and "Vangie" Bruce was the toast of Europe, as a hostess and a companion, during the diplomatic whirlwind that followed the Second World War.

Although his influence in using the assets of the Mellon family to create the National Gallery is certainly worthy of note, it was the last three decades of David K. E. Bruce's life that were the most remarkable: ambassador to France, ambassador to West Germany, ambassador to the Court of St. James in Great

Britain, permanent representative of the United States to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, first head of the United States Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China. (He was ambassador to Beijing in all but title.) A confidante and trusted advisor to presidents of both parties, Bruce was always able to mold the circumstances to fit the occasion. Although his attempt to assist his friend Jean Monnet create the European Defense Community to fill a post-war vacuum in the West failed, it led, eventually, to even more than either of them expected: NATO, the European Common Market, and the European Community. With limited skill as a linguist Bruce was unable to master German but still managed to establish a warm and useful relationship with Konrad Adenauer when "der Alte" was chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. A virulent anti-Communist he was nonetheless respected by most of his diplomatic adversaries and spent a memorable three hours with Mao Tze Tung about which I wish the author had told us more. The only assignment he truly abhorred was as head of the first United States delegation to meet with the North Vietnamese in an attempt to create a mechanism for ending the war in Southeast Asia. But even so, it was not the process that disturbed him. Rather, it was the rancor he encountered among some of the North Vietnamese representatives and the spiteful and mean-spirited manner in which they approached the talks. Bruce could abide and endure almost anything except rudeness and bad manners.

To call David K. E. Bruce "the last American aristocrat" does him somewhat of a disservice. Not that he lacked the required credentials. His dress was always impeccable, his conduct always correct, his speech always measured and appropriate. Only once, according to Mr. Lankford, was he ever heard to utter an obscenity in reference to another human being. But Congressman Wayne Hays of Ohio was called far worse by many of his peers in Congress even before he was caught dallying with one Fannie Foxxe, an aging nymph of easy virtue, in a the pool of a Washington fountain. Bruce was elegant without being arrogant, a diplomatic cavalier of unmatched grace and style. But more than an aristocrat, he was a tough-minded negotiator, a clear thinking visionary who was able to translate his nineteenth-century values to the realities of the late twentieth century even as the world demanded that he abandon them. He was not without his faults. Bruce was, by his own admission, a failure as parent. He did not enjoy the company of small children and found them interesting only after they reached adolescence. That attitude, and his neglect, would exact a terrible personal toll as it did in many families during the counter-culture revolt of the 1960s and early 1970s.

Biographies are difficult to write and often just as difficult to read. The research required to do justice to the subject sometimes leads the author to bog down in minutiae and trivia. Mr. Lankford has for the most part avoided such temptation. Although there are some times the reader may become frustrated with the pace of the narrative, much of the book moves briskly spurred, in

large measure by what is in a very real sense a life of global adventure. David K. E. Bruce was never comfortable with celebrity. What he did, whatever he achieved, was accomplished out of a sense of duty, a demand he made of himself even though he would often claim otherwise.

I suspect this work could have been longer. For example, it would have been helpful to learn more about Evangeline Bruce, and additional time might have been spent on specific diplomatic events during which Bruce helped shape United States foreign policy to a degree he, himself, was loath to admit. But thirty-six pages of notes and a fourteen-page bibliography give the reader many paths that may be followed for supplemental information. And Mr. Lankford has done well by his subject. Having previously compiled Bruce's World War II diaries in *OSS Against the Reich* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991), he now gives us the rest of David K. E. Bruce in full measure, one man's extraordinary journey through the most critical years of the twentieth century and well worth the trip.

ALAN WALDEN
Baltimore

Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory. By Mike Wallace. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996. 318 pages. Notes, illustrations. $54.95, cloth; $18.95 paper.)

Mickey Mouse History is a collection of essays by historian Mike Wallace—no apparent relation to the television personality—on the subject of public history. Wallace, who teaches history at John Jay College (City University of New York), is interested in the problems of historical interpretation outside of the classroom and beyond the limits of scholarly publications. He is interested in museums, historical theme parks, and the historic preservation movement. The essays collected in *Mickey Mouse History* were published or delivered as lectures from the early 1980s through the present.

The book is divided into four sections covering museums, theme parks (with a special emphasis on Disney projects), preservation, and "the politics of history" in the Reagan era and beyond. A long individual chapter on the controversy surrounding the National Air and Space Museum's exhibit of the Enola Gay is included in the final section. Strangely absent from Wallace's book are any references to historical documentary films by producers such as Ken Burns and David Grubin.

Full disclosure: Wallace is a member of the academic left, and he acknowledges the fact with pride. For this reason, the substance and the style of his book provide a challenge for those of us who view ourselves as independents—who view prevailing ideologies of politics, society, and culture as ambiguous aggregations of wisdom and of folly.

Wallace's aversions and affinities are clear in every one of these essays. His villains are predictable enough: yesterday's patricians whose aristocratic house museums of course slighted the *hoi polloi;* contemporary right-wing polemicists who traffic in "historicidal" propaganda; and the crass purveyors of historical shlock who foist empty or insipid versions of history on consumers. Some of these people deserve every bit of what they get at Wallace's hands. By the same token, Wallace's demand for inclusive social history is certainly justified: everything pertaining to humanity's development is grist for the historian's mill. One can generally agree with Wallace—notwithstanding his penchant for self-congratulation—when he boasts that "this generation of historians and curators has thrown open the historical tent flaps, and embraced the experience of a far broader range of Americans than had ever before been represented in museums."

One can also agree to an extent with his pronouncement that "all history is a production—a deliberate selection, ordering, and evaluation of past events, experiences and processes." To his credit, Wallace acknowledges that left-of-center intellectuals are just as selective in their efforts to serve up versions of history as any of their right-wing counterparts—just as inclined to play favorites to the point of propaganda. He admits that "too determined an emphasis on history from the bottom up can neglect the doings of the rich and powerful," that "community affirmation can too easily tumble into uncritical celebration," and that historians are all too capable of "romanticizing or sentimentalizing slaves, women, Indians, and working people."

But these acknowledgements are few and formulaic. For the most part, Wallace conforms to his milieu: he traffics in left-of-center pieties. Some of them are merely cliches—platitudinous and trite. Others are quite bizarre.

Example: In critiquing the historic preservation movement for its sycophantic dealings with developers during the 1980s—a critique containing elements of truth—Wallace feels compelled to add that such people were "fatally naive victims of the utopian capitalist fantasy that profit motives can be harnessed for the public good." What on earth are we supposed to conclude after reading such an *obiter dictum?* Is Wallace suggesting that profit motives can *never*—not *ever,* under any circumstances—lead to any public benefits? That people who believe that certain business ventures can promote public benefits are victims of utopian fantasy? How, may we ask, does Mike Wallace intend to dispose of any royalties that he happens to receive from the sale of *Mickey Mouse History?* Even if he gives them to his favorite commune, is this not a public benefit (by Wallace's standards) that results from a profit transaction?

Mickey Mouse History is full of such posturing: it drips like a Chinese water torture through the pages of every single essay. At its worst, it bespeaks a kind of moral self-satisfaction—leftists are the bearers of enlightenment—that is nothing less than lazy conceit. An egotistical quality infects this book to the point of occasional smirkiness: one can see it in the references to President Kennedy as "Jack

Kennedy" and to Walt Disney as "Walt." One can see it in a multitude of breezy (and often rather sloppy) generalizations. For example: "Twenties intellectuals," Wallace informs us, "reveled in the accelerated tempo of time, the rupture of traditions, the liberating break with conservative constraints, and the exhilaration of commodity abundance." Some of them did, without a doubt. But was this true of T. S. Eliot? Was it true of the southern "Agrarian" writers who protested the commercial vulgarities of Yankee industrialism?

Wallace even gets sloppy with the popular culture he reveres: he repeatedly refers to the cinematic character of "Jefferson Deeds," whereas anyone familiar with the films of Frank Capra must know that the hero of the 1936 classic "Mr. Deeds Goes to Town" was named *Longfellow* Deeds: the 1939 sequel "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" portrayed a hero named Jefferson *Smith.*

Let us turn, however, to the useful contributions of *Mickey Mouse History,* for Wallace has some valid things to say. The most important issue in the book concerns the overlap of scholarship and social values. Related to this is the inherent tension that exists between the duties of scholarly exactitude—the "objective" side of the responsible historian's craft—and the human reality of scholars with powerful interpretive viewpoints. At times Wallace seems to contradict himself when it comes to these complicated problems. In several essays, for instance, he encourages museums to "empower" their visitors by suggesting the ways in which historical themes carry over into ongoing policy disputes. Later, however, he abruptly concludes that a "sense of history tells us nothing (nor should it) about what to do in the present."

But in several essays in *Mickey Mouse History*—especially the final essay—Wallace gives us a satisfying version of the way in which museums can do justice to historical interpretation by including a range of viewpoints in the course of an exhibit. Let the author speak for himself:

> Another strategy would be to incorporate differing perspectives into the exhibition itself. Museums should not duck debate but welcome it. Fascinating shows could be fashioned by pitting alternative perspectives one against the another [sic]: creationists versus evolutionists, developers versus preservationists, advocates versus opponents of affirmative action.

Such a strategy is difficult, of course, and Wallace usefully delineates the sorts of entanglements that curators have to expect:

> In the case of immigrants, blacks, workers, women, and Native Americans, it turns out to be no simple matter to discover who exactly "the community" is. Or who gets to speak for the community. Or what to do when some groups contest the rights of other groups to serve as spokespeople. Or how to respond to claims that, e.g., only Latinos can/should speak for Latinos. Or how to rebut a group that

> denies a museum's right to say anything at all about it without prior approval. Or what to do when an exhibit offers a variety of perspectives on a controversial issue, only to be met with a dogmatic insistence that only one of the perspectives is true, that the very notion of debate is "relativistic" and illegitimate.

Good, Professor Wallace: now *this* is what you and your public history colleagues need to keep working on. This is what our discipline can use. And when *Mickey Mouse History* abandons its sententious tone—when it finally gets down to the complicated business of brokering interpretive diversity—then it justifies itself to our profession.

RICHARD STRINER
Washington College

An Architectural History of Harford County, Maryland. By Christopher Weeks. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. 385 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. $39.95.)

"Epic" is the word for this impressive work on Harford county. It has the rare quality of being both edifying and entertaining, its author being an experienced architectural writer as well as a native of the county. The book is divided into two sections. The first, with ten chapters, is entitled, "A Narrative History of Harford County Builders and their Buildings." This is followed by descriptions and photographs of four hundred buildings and sites, many on the National Register of Historic Places, grouped in six districts under the heading "Selected Historical Sites in Harford County." This second part of the work is a thorough and scholarly description of the surprisingly numerous buildings of importance still standing in Harford county, the sort of thing one expects in a book on county architecture, of which a number have been produced in Maryland. The author himself has two previous ones to his credit.

The first part, however, is an unexpected and intriguing social history of the county brought vividly to life by detailed descriptions of people and events that only a writer with an intimate connection to the subject would be able to extricate from sources. One begins to acquire a keen interest in the doings of the Halls, the Rodgers, the Smiths, the Symingtons, Shrivers, and other families who appear in many vignettes not only in the county but on the national and international stage as well. Their lives, loves, and eccentricities are woven into the buildings they created, inhabited, and occasionally destroyed. It is of interest to see how periods of U.S. history were expressed at the local level—the hard-working settlers of the early eighteenth century, the industrial entrepreneurs of the nineteenth century, the "ain't we got fun" crowd of the 1920s. Harford county was indeed a microcosm of American history, its role heightened by its proximity to industrial Baltimore and political Washington.

A new and poignant portrait of Harford county emerges through descriptions of the glory days of its physical development. One sees the fall from grace of Havre de Grace as a rival of Philadelphia and Baltimore, and the acquisition and destruction of many of the bayside historic sites by the U.S. Military.

The twentieth century gets short shrift in the book, and it is a pleasant surprise to come upon item 2-80 on page 278, the New Ideal Diner of 1952 Formica and vinyl. Is there no good contemporary architecture in Harford county? One assumes not, and admiringly follows the author's detailed descriptions of eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings and their occupants. And what a lively bunch those occupants were! Far from being the provincial society one might expect to find in a rural county, Harford countians are seen to be actively enmeshed in world affairs. Commodore John Rodgers of Sion Hill, a mainstay of the U.S. Navy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and Senator Millard Tydings of Oakington are examples of those who have left their mark on U.S. and world history.

A noteworthy section entitled "The Remarkable Career and Heritage of Cupid Peaker" chronicles the achievements of a free black man who settled in the Darlington area in 1822 and illustrates the ambiguity in Maryland about slavery and the Civil War. It is noted that a number of white Harford countians freed their slaves either during their lifetime or at their death years before the Emancipation Proclamation.

A dilemma for architectural historians in writing about buildings is what to do about the lowest level of vernacular architecture. Examples have either disappeared or are of so little architectural interest that the reader may wonder why they are there at all. However, they are an integral part of the architectural history of an area. The author meets this problem by including some black churches and meeting places as well as farm outbuildings, avoiding a direct confrontation with this issue.

The last chapter of the book deals with one of the county's most notable features—its gardens. The author most aptly begins this portion by saying "that of all the works of art in Harford County only one—Harvey Ladew's garden—has achieved international recognition." The reviewer had ample verification of this fact several years ago when a friend, English garden expert Penelope Hobhouse, was in the U.S. on a book-signing tour and asked to see Ladew gardens even though it was February and snow lay on the ground. One is led to hope for a revival of the "romantic Harford garden," as described. Gardens at Hidden Valley, Prospect, Olney, and Maxwell's Point must have been among the most picturesque landscapes of the day. Again, the author has done a skillful job of re-creating in the mind's eye a world that no longer exists.

It can be hoped that all Maryland counties eventually will have publications of their architectural histories, but it is doubtful that any can match the quality and scholarship of the Harford book. One may think of a county book as a good reference, worthy but dull. The Harford book is a far cry from that. The

author's rare knowledge, wit, spicy tidbits of scandal, and "let me entertain you" approach to history makes this a must-read for anyone interested in Maryland history.

DAVID FOGLE
University of Maryland, School of Architecture

Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic: Volume I: Commerce and Compromise, 1820–1850. By John Ashworth. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. 532 pages. Appendix, notes, index. $64.95 cloth; $19.95 paper.)

This book's heft and imposing title hint at its expansive interpretation of the causes of the Civil War. John Ashworth argues that the North and South had become two separate societies by the late 1840s. The distinct social relations of an expanding slave society and an emerging wage-labor economy created incompatible cultural understandings of democracy, individualism, and the dignity of labor. As abolitionist and proslavery ideologues enunciated these differences at the extremes, the issue of territorial expansion made sectional rivalry the animating force in national politics and portended the demise of the Union.

Ashworth begins with a counterfactual proposition: had the slaves been reconciled to their role as slaves, would there have been a Civil War? Docile slaves would not have run away (negating the need for the troublesome Fugitive Slave Act), would not have incurred the lash (robbing the abolitionists of key iconography), and slaveholders would not have perceived slaves as susceptible to abolitionist propaganda (making censorship of the mails unnecessary). But instead, the millions of slaves who broke tools, worked slowly, and sought social space for themselves, spurred on the "twin forces of abolitionism and proslavery" (493) and placed slavery at the center of national politics.

Drawing on Marx, Ashworth defines slave resistance as a form of class conflict. Ashworth's model does not hinge upon whether the slave who filched corn from the master's barn possessed class consciousness; nor is Ashworth concerned with proving that slaveholders acted out of an intentional or consistent class interest. By "class" Ashworth simply means social groups on the opposite sides of the productive process. In a patient logical progression, class becomes the underlying cause of the Civil War: slaves and masters had an antagonistic relationship, this relationship drove the ideology of proslavery and abolitionism, and the proslavery and abolitionist positions polarized North and South and rendered the political system incapable of holding the nation together.

A more subtle class analysis also explains the growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the North. As more Northerners began to work for wages in the early nineteenth century, social stability hinged upon redefining this once-degraded

form of labor as freedom itself. Middle-class celebration of a female-centered domestic sphere and a male-dominated competitive workplace legitimized the new social relations of northern industrialization. In comparison, slavery mocked the sanctity of the family, undermined proper gender roles, and stymied industrial development. Most northerners would come to express their distaste for slavery not by becoming abolitionists, but rather by supporting politicians who proclaimed the superiority of "free labor" and resisted southern designs on additional territory. Although abolitionists remained scorned, their perceptive critique of slavery resonated in the capitalist North of the 1850s.

The Second Party System was able to contain sectional rivalries for twenty years because the Whig and Democratic parties held ideologically-distinct positions that transcended slavery. As Ashworth argued in his first book, *"Agrarians" and "Aristocrats": Party Political Ideology in the United States, 1837–1846* (Cambridge, 1983), the Whigs had little faith in the common man, eagerly sought federal funding for internal improvements, and championed the market revolution. Conversely, the Democrats espoused a majoritarian white republic of small producers. The racism and agrarianism embedded in Jeffersonian and Jacksonian thought made the Democratic party the logical home for southern slaveholders. By the late 1840s, southern politicians jettisoned their pretensions to egalitarianism and sought to maneuver the Democratic party and the federal government into aggressively pro-slavery positions. At the same time, northern Whigs downplayed elitism and focused on the superiority of their "free labor" economy. Northern farmers no longer saw themselves as sharing an agrarian interest with southern planters, began eyeing the new territories of the Mexican Cession for themselves, and joined a developing free-soil coalition. This new consensus marked the ideological triumph of northern capitalism and left the party system hobbling into the 1850s.

By locating sectionalism (as an ideology and political expression) in the broad economic developments of nineteenth-century society, Ashworth offers an ambitious and imaginative model of Civil War causality. His quarrels with Marxist historians and neo-classical economists sometimes sidetrack a narrative which stands well on its own. Despite his claims for the primacy of material causes, Ashworth's discussion of proslavery ideology remains abstract. Jack Temple Kirby's recent book, *Poquosin* (Chapel Hill, 1995), suggests that a fire-eater like Edmund Ruffin argued for slavery not merely as an owner of human labor but as an agrarian who spent most of his time thinking about soil conditions, crop fertility, and weather cycles. Ashworth might have rooted the diversity of proslavery thought in the specific plantation experiences of a John C. Calhoun, a George Fitzhugh, or one of the numerous Maryland planters undercut by the use of free black labor on nearby farms. Readers will find little here specific to Maryland history, but Ashworth's interpretation suggests why

Maryland—at the crossroads of two diverging social systems—experienced such political instability in the 1850s. The present volume ends with the Compromise of 1850, but a forthcoming second book extends through the 1860s and characterizes the Civil War as a "bourgeois revolution." Indeed, these volumes together will make a compelling case for Ashworth's Marxist style of cultural history, as well as for a more complex understanding of why the Union fell apart with Lincoln's election.

SETH ROCKMAN
University of California, Davis

At Beck and Call: The Representation of Domestic Servants in Nineteenth-Century American Painting. By Elizabeth L. O'Leary. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996. 315 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. $34.95)

Imagine a leisurely stroll through a gallery exhibiting nineteenth-century paintings. Finely arrayed merchants and their families gaze at you from handsomely upholstered couches. The only indistinct detail is that of the servant, who stands in shadow. The exhibition script informs you that during the nineteenth century, slaves or immigrant servants were commonly found in the homes of middle- and upper-class families. Yet, you notice, paintings of domestic servants appear only sporadically.

Like a walk through just such a gallery, art historian Elizabeth O'Leary observes nineteenth-century oil paintings and finds that depictions of domestic workers, while few in number, are revealing. O'Leary's premise is that formal portraiture of the period represents not only the needs of the painter, but also those of the buyer, and of the surrounding culture. Painting is thus a social construction, revealing far more than the details of a face, or the drape of a costume. Interpreting a sample of seventy-nine paintings produced between the cities of Boston and Baltimore, O'Leary discovers social prejudices embedded in her sample. Repeatedly, the images of domestic workers—both black and white—are found to embody derisive stereotypes, seemingly generated to reassure white patrons that their cultural dominance would prevail.

O'Leary opens her study with a discussion of late-eighteenth-century images, and finds them to be formulaic depictions of docile, loyal slaves and servants. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, she observes the servant-employer relations to be less egalitarian and more ambivalent. Increasingly, nativism and racial tension generated more stereotypical images, such as the so-called "Mammy," or the deceitful Irish maid, "Bridget." But O'Leary is at her interpretive best in the post–Civil War period, particularly in her examination of the paintings of Winslow Homer. Homer's *A Visit from the Old Mistress,* for example, strongly illustrates how a painting may be read as a social statement. Produced during the Reconstruction years, the painting

shows an unflinching directness in the gaze of the former slaves toward their former mistress. Notably absent is the exaggerated deference and subservience of pre-Emancipation years.

The increasing xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment of the final years of the nineteenth century gave rise to more derisive and subservient images of servitude. Yet, several decades later, the painters of the Boston School were painting servants as merely pretty and decorative.

Perhaps the major weakness of the book is that O'Leary never acknowledges the bias and limitations of her sample: middle-and upper-class families of the Northeast. Further, by conflating images of immigrant domestic servants and slaves, she implies an improbable similarity between paid employment and slavery.

Notwithstanding the sampling problems, O'Leary's research is solid, and she makes careful use of many of the major interpretive texts for the period. Her interdisciplinary approach would make the book appealing to a general readership as well as to students of art history.

Donna Shear
Maryland Historical Society

An Oral History of Abraham Lincoln: John G. Nicolay's Interviews and Essays. Edited by Michael Burlingame. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996. 186 pages. Notes, index. $29.95.)

In writing the biographies of great historical figures, one encounters certain inherent problems. Under a thick stratum of platitudes and unverifiable legends, the subject assumes a monumentality that makes him or her remote. The true person often is buried under the mantle of hero, political leader and, in some cases, martyr.

The life of Abraham Lincoln presents a unique challenge. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, President Lincoln's personal secretaries, were the first to produce a credible biography of the Springfield lawyer. Documenting Lincoln's early life and pre-presidential career, however, proved difficult for these men; it appears that little correspondence from Lincoln's hand exists from this period in his life. Consequently, Nicolay conducted a series of interviews with the friends and political colleagues of the Great Emancipator, beginning in the mid-1870s. Yet "when it came time to write their massive biography," writes editor Michael Burlingame, "he and Hay made but sparing use of the interviews" (xv).

Burlingame, in masterly fashion, has combined the never before published transcripts of these thirty-nine interviews, with two essays by John G. Nicolay, the interviewer, to produce this book. Burlingame previously authored *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994)

which garnered the 1995 Abraham Lincoln Association prize. With the great popular interest in Civil War topics and recent works on Lincoln specifically, one would think that these oral histories would have received greater scholarly attention; instead they languished, scattered among various collections at the Library of Congress and elsewhere.

The interviews, unsystematic according to today's oral history standards, were discounted by Nicolay himself as being nothing more than a compilation of faulty reminiscences (xv). Moreover, Burlingame cautions the reader that "these interviews must be used carefully, for human memory, as Nicolay and Hay knew, [is] imperfect" (xvii). The publication and dissemination of Nicolay's interviews is nonetheless important. Anecdotal information provides color to straight historical narrative. The essence of truth may still reside within the inexact retelling of a particular incident. Discernment, Burlingame suggests, is the key when reviewing the transcripts.

For historians and Lincoln enthusiasts, the *Oral History of Abraham Lincoln* provides a fresh dynamism in framing the Illinois lawyer. Apparently, the aspiring politician paid little attention to his dress as a young man. An observer of one of Lincoln's 1832 stump speeches noted that Lincoln's "pantaloons didn't meet his shoes by six inches" (35), bringing a new meaning to the expression high water pants. Many interviews illuminate the great burdens of a wartime presidency. In July 1863, his son Robert entered the president's office to find his father with "his head leaning upon the desk in front of him, and when he raised his head there was evidence of tears upon his face." Lincoln had just received the news of Lee's escape across the Potomac after the battle of Gettysburg (88). Even local historians may find a useful nugget of information. Two Baltimore women appealed to the president for the release of a Confederate prisoner-of-war held at Point Lookout. Lincoln listened patiently to their pleas, replete with "the usual *finale* of such interviews, a copious shower of tears."

> At this point the president asked casually when and how the boy had gone into the confederate service? The mother with evident pride, quickly responded with the whole story.
>
> "And now that he is taken prisoner, this is the first time, probably, that you have ever shed tears over what your boy has done?" asked the President with emphasis.
>
> The question was so direct . . . that the woman could frame no equivocation [and so] she sat dumb, and visibly convicted of her secession sympathies, by the very simple inquiry.
>
> "Good Morning Madam" said the President "I can do nothing for your boy today." (55–56)

In summary, this is an interesting compilation of incidents and observations

provided by Lincoln's own intimates and political associates. Though readers may find little new information, the recollections supplement the several fine recently published Lincoln biographies. While it is advised not to digest the contents of the transcripts verbatim, Michael Burlingame's effort provides yet additional food for intellectual discourse on the man and the myth known as Abraham Lincoln.

ROBERT W. SCHOEBERLEIN
Maryland Historical Society

Lee the Soldier. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996. 655 pages. Notes, index, illustrations. $45.)

Gary W. Gallagher, professor of history at the Pennsylvania State University and a leading historian of the American Civil War, has edited a formidable volume on Robert E. Lee' s role as military commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. Gallagher has gathered a wide array of essays, from those written after the war by Lee's former comrades to the opinions of present-day historians, in order to consider Lee's command during crucial phases of his military career. The result is a valuable contribution to the scholarship of Civil War leadership and to our understanding of Robert E. Lee, in particular, as it has evolved in the 130-odd years after Appomattox.

Drawing upon his skills as an editor of similar volumes dealing with Civil War campaigns and battles, Gallagher turns his attention to Lee the soldier. This massive volume (certainly not light bedtime reading) is organized into four separate, but cohesive, parts. Part I consists of testimonial accounts of conversations conducted with General Lee after the war and prior to his death in 1870. Three memoranda—by William Allen, Edward C. Gordon, and William P. Johnston (the son of Albert Sidney Johnston)—deal with aspects of Lee's wartime service as recorded by these former Confederate officers. Given that General Lee did not write his memoirs, these memoranda provide some idea as to his thoughts and reflections, which would become subject to controversial interpretations by surviving Confederate officers and historians of the conflict.

Part II then takes up some of these themes with assessments of Lee's overall generalship by both admirers and detractors. The articles selected by Gallagher in this section range from Jubal A. Early and Douglas Southall Freeman to Thomas L. Connelly and Alan T. Nolan. As Gallagher writes in his introduction, "the persistent tension between admirers and critics of Lee's military record" forms the "rationale for *Lee the Soldier.* Readers will find in the material that follows a broad range of arguments for and against Lee's greatness as a general. The emphasis is on analysis, though several selections employ a narrative framework within which the authors make their analytical points. A col-

lection of interpretive writings," Gallagher notes, "*Lee the Soldier* complements the *Official Records*, *The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee*, and other works that contain Lee's wartime letters and reports. Once familiar with dominant historiographical themes, readers can canvass contemporary documents with an eye toward deciding which authors have best portrayed Lee's stature as a soldier and his influence on the course of the war."

The book's final analytical section, Part III, presents new work by current historians on Lee's role in five campaigns as well as a major review of Gettysburg. Carol Reardon examines Lee's first six weeks in command of the Army of Northern Virginia while D. Scott Hartwig follows up with a look at Lee during his first invasion of Maryland in 1862. Robert K. Krick focuses on Chancellorsville, although Gettysburg occupies the largest portion of this section with selections by James Longstreet, Jubal A. Early, Edward Porter Alexander, Douglas Southall Freeman, Alan T. Nolan, and a reprint of an earlier article by Gary Gallagher. Noah Andre Trudeau is left to finish the war from the Wilderness to Appomattox.

Part IV is "The R. E. Lee 200: An Annotated Bibliography of Essential Books on Lee's Military Career" compiled by T. Michael Parrish. While certainly this is a topic open for discussion, it nevertheless provides a starting point for readers to draw upon in their own quest for knowledge about Robert E. Lee.

Lee the Soldier, in addition to the collection of essays, is also amply illustrated with contemporary photographs, imprints, and engravings that show Lee as he was seen by his soldiers or imagined by the American and European public. The book also has maps for the various campaigns and battles which assist the readers in following Lee's planning and movement.

Gallagher has crafted a fine summary of the varying perspectives regarding Robert E. Lee's military command during the Civil War. It is a well-rounded book that allows the different viewpoints to be recognized; as editor, Gallagher has rallied a fine collection of articles. One would be challenged to find a single volume that packs as many different viewpoints about Lee as Gary Gallagher has done with *Lee the Soldier*.

Kevin Conley Ruffner
Washington, D.C.

Honor & Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South. By Kenneth S. Greenberg. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. 192 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. $24.95.)

Because the long vanished language of honor used by antebellum Southern gentlemen was inextricably tied to the institution of slavery, Kenneth S. Greenberg has undertaken to decode that language in order to shed light on

the entire society of the Old South. Greenberg first canvassed the discourse of southern men of honor for concepts and locutions that today seem inscrutable, then fleshed out the contexts and associations that made them comprehensible at the time.

His sprawling subtitle bears witness to the pioneering and trial-and-error nature of his enormous undertaking, and he invites other scholars to expand upon and supplement the work he has begun. Although professor of history at Suffolk University, he credits the approach he uses in this study to scholars like Clifford Geertz, Michel Foucault and Jonathan Cruller working in such fields as linguistics and ethnography.

In the antebellum South the difference between having honor (the gentleman) and not having honor (the slave) was the difference between having power and being powerless. Preserving one's honor and power depended upon how securely one's mask was held in place. A southern gentleman could tell a lie or even wear a dress for fun—provided he could keep from being exposed or unmasked, which for Greenberg explains why Jefferson Davis was so thoroughly humiliated by the northern version of the story of his capture while allegedly dressed as a woman.

If men of honor never removed their masks, it is also true that they seldom thought to inquire into the secrets behind black faces, assuming merely that such faces were devoid of honor. Slaves were taken at "face" value, and it is no wonder that twentieth-century historians who wrote about black culture from sources generated by antebellum whites never found any black culture there at all.

To illustrate the complex connections between honor and slavery and gift-giving, the author cites the 1826 duel between Henry Clay and John Randolph. The insults the two men had been hurling at each other for the previous fourteen years all implied "slavelike" behavior—cowardice, dishonesty, and thievery. Their duel was a dialogue in which each tried to retain mastery of his own situation, and each achieved his goals by risking his own life and exchanging gifts in a confrontation that assured their equality. (Randolph gratuitously stated beforehand his intention not to return Clay's fire, and Clay promised to buy Randolph a new coat for the one his bullet had damaged.) Just as Randolph made the magnanimous decision not to fire at Clay, who was a popular politician with relatively young children, masters who gave their slaves the gift of sustenance had the not inconsiderable comfort of perceiving themselves as men of generosity. This is why, says Greenberg, many masters felt so personally betrayed when their slaves deserted them in the midst of the Civil War.

The issue of gift-giving was just as deeply implicated in emancipation as it was in slavery. Because the ability to give gifts distinguished master from slave, and because the slave was distinguished from the master by his inability to give gifts, emancipation represented the kind of gift that paradoxically rendered unforgettable the master-slave relationship. Thus the image of Abraham

Lincoln as bringer of the gift of liberty to the downtrodden could actually serve to degrade the newly freed slaves, and W. E. B. DuBois could reject the entire notion that emancipation was given to slaves in favor of the argument that the slaves had liberated themselves.

Closely related to generosity is hospitality. Frederick Law Olmsted, who as a stranger traveling in the southern backcountry during the 1850s reported that only twice during his four-thousand-mile trek was he given a night's lodging or a meal without having to pay for it, concluded that southern hospitality was a myth. But Greenberg believes that Olmsted misunderstood that hospitality, for like all gifts and including the exchange code of the duel, hospitality did not extend to the world at large. Since the point of the duel was to heal a breach within the community of gentlemen through an extreme form of gift-giving—exchanging bullets—it made no sense to duel with a stranger. And in addition, at the time of Olmsted's tour, the tension over slavery and the fear of outsiders who might incite the slaves to insurrection significantly diminished the hospitality that honorable southerners might otherwise have extended to strangers in their midst.

Despite the wishful thinking of early baseball publicists who dubbed it the "national game," baseball had little appeal in the antebellum South. It was only after the abolition of slavery and the loss of its regional association with New York and New England that it took root in the South. Southern men of honor initially disliked the running component of the game; standing at the "slab" presented no problem, but the notion of running from the ball left them cold. Masters and men of honor did not "run" for or from anything. Neither did men of honor "run for office," they stood for office. Only slaves and dishonorable cowards "ran" away; masters "stood their ground."

Games of chance were quite another matter, and honorable men of the South bet on cards, gambled on dice, cockfights, horse races and virtually anything that afforded a show of competition. Confederate soldiers, lacking the usual opportunities for wagering, placed bets on the speed of small boats with paper sails and on the belligerence of lice. This drive to risk everything for honor shows up even on the battlefields of the Civil War. When Confederate strategists repeatedly preferred to attack rather than to assume a safer defensive posture, they were once again expressing their love of risk. The Confederacy may well have lost the war, Greenberg ventures, because of lessons mastered at southern card tables and racetracks.

Strange as it may seem, Greenberg is not interested in tracing the Anglo-Saxon, British, or Celtic roots of the sensitivities that he isolates for scrutiny in antebellum southern gentlemen. In a footnote regarding the southern tendency to take the offensive in battle, Greenberg cites the work of Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson (*Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage* [University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1982] but states his own indifference to attributing this tendency to the Celtic

heritage of southerners. I find this a bit odd in a work so rigorously analytical, for antebellum southerners, like everyone else, had ancestors from whom they inherited traditions, inclinations, and language. Still, Greenberg's stated purpose is linguistic reconstruction at a specific point in time, and he sees his role as that of a translator rather than a tracker of linear or dialectical causation.

Be that as it may, Greenberg's unique and entertaining interweaving of anecdote and analysis—although open in places to the charge of over-simplification—nonetheless represents a fresh and highly commendable attempt to understand the mind of the Old South and why in 1861 it sought to pursue its characteristic, and tragic, course of action.

JACK SHREVE
Allegany College of Maryland

The National Road and *A Guide to the National Road.* Edited by Karl Raitz. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. 507 pages, 416 pages. Chronology, glossary, notes, references, index. $34.95 each.)

Money and movement have long defined America. The highway symbolizes both: large-scale commerce and personal freedom. The National Road was the first federally-funded highway to the West, a prime mover in our continuing saga of manifest destiny.

These two books comprise less a standard history than an extended rumination on the role of highways in American life in terms of their influence on culture, landscape, migration patterns, town planning, architecture, preservation, and national transportation policy. *The National Road* and its companion volume were written by a total of nineteen authors (mostly geographers) and illustrated by four photographers. (There are also portfolios of paintings in each volume). Like the Interstate System itself—a direct descendant of the National Road—the books are often repetitive, a little tedious, and frequently enlightening.

Although technically the National Road was built 1811–1818 from Cumberland, Maryland through Pennsylvania to Wheeling, on the Ohio River, its de facto terminus was Baltimore, which by 1823 had completed a series of western turnpikes through Frederick, Hagerstown, and Hancock to join it. By 1839, the National Road had been extended through Ohio and Indiana and into Illinois, where it quietly expired at Vandalia, a little more than halfway across the state, having been overtaken by the railroads.

The early 1900s were the National Road's prime time, first as a long-distance conveyor of freight, travelers, livestock, and the mails and later as an extension of the growing rail network. With the railroads ascendant in the latter nineteenth century, the National Road lay dormant, but it returned in triumph in the twentieth in a couple of manifestations: in the 1920s as a lengthened and

improved Route 40, and in more recent decades as Interstate 70 on which it is now possible to drive most of the way across the country while enjoying a truly unique perspective on two centuries of American transportation progress.

Nowhere is this more apparent than a few miles west of Baltimore, between Mount Airy and New Market, where from westbound I-70 one can see the former National Road on the right, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad that superseded it to the left, and dead ahead like a concrete laser beam, the interstate highway that has largely vanquished them both. While by-passing the old roads and towns to create new commercial villages at interchanges, the interstates (with the substantial help of the heavily-subsidized airline industry) have also relegated the railroads to the situation of canals 150 years ago: as the haulers mainly of bulky, slow-moving freight.

These issues and their implications are admirably explored in Pierce Lewis's vigorously written, entertaining, and informative opening chapter, "The Landscapes of Mobility." With a few exceptions, succeeding chapters by the other eleven authors of volume one are less engaging as they grapple, sometimes repetitiously, with the legislative background, politics, engineering, construction, personalities, vehicles and inns, and so forth, of the National Road, followed by its long decline and the subsequent development of the highway lobby and modern roads.

One exception is Richard H. Schein's skeptical and well-researched "The Interstate 70 Landscape," which points out that the interchange where east-west I-70 and north-south I-65 meet in downtown Indianapolis is almost one mile long and covers seventy acres. The Pennsylvania Railroad, even at its most arrogant, never perpetrated anything like that. Another engaging chapter is Grady Clay's and Karl Raitz's "Never a Stationary Highway."

Volume two, "a practical field guide," provides a discursive and detailed segment-by-segment examination of the National Road. (I found the consciously arty photographs to be as distracting as they are revelatory.) For more colorful and succinct histories, the general reader might turn to Thomas B. Seawright's 1894 classic *The Old Pike: A History of the National Road* (republished 1971), Archer Butler Holbert's 1901 *The Old National Road: A Chapter of American Expansion,* or Philip D. Jordan's 1948 *The National Road.* But as provocative subject matter and planning guides for the specialist or dedicated amateur, these two new volumes will prove quite valuable.

The absence of animation is death, but the faster we go, the more we seem to covet and grow nostalgic over what we have left behind. The interstate highways stranded hundreds of small towns and fostered the growth of miles of boring new suburbs whose sterility and other problems planners are now trying to undo by recreating the central squares and other small-town virtues of the very places that we abandoned. It does make you wonder.

James D. Dilts
Baltimore

Books in Brief

Mary Surratt was arrested and hanged in 1865 for her alleged involvement with the plot to assassinate President Lincoln. Author Elizabeth Steger Trindal examines Surratt's life in *Mary Surratt: An American Tragedy.* A freelance writer, Trindall worked fifteen years to produce the work, which draws heavily from newspaper reports and court testimony.

Pelican Publishing Company, Inc. $26.95

Northern activists did not have a monopoly on mid-nineteenth-century abolitionist activity, argues Stanley Harrold, in *The Abolitionists & the South, 1831–1861.* Challenging historians who have emphasized northern abolitionists, Harrold seeks to draw attention instead to southern antislavery action. The author places particular focus on the border states, examining ways in which southern abolitionist efforts influenced the development of abolitionist reform culture in the decades leading up to the Civil War.

The University Press of Kentucky, $29.95

The U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis was founded more than 150 years ago, and midshipmen have been learning to sail there as long. *Sailing at the U.S. Naval Academy: An Illustrated History,* seeks to provide a chronicle of their endeavors. Written by retired Rear Admiral Robert W. McNitt, the book opens with the establishment of the Naval Academy in 1845 and describes life aboard famous sailing ships such as the *Constitution* and *Constellation.* The latter, a thirty-six-gun frigate built in Baltimore in 1797, was the first commissioned ship in the U.S. Navy. Its namesake and successor had the longest continuous service of all the Naval Academy training vessels. This generously illustrated book contains numerous black-and-white photographs of ships, officers, and crews.

Naval Institute Press, $41.95

The oil paintings of Virginia painter John M. Barber evoke the diversity and richness of life on the Chesapeake Bay. Now the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum has collected and reproduced these paintings in the recently released *John M. Barber's Chesapeake.* The book's illustrations range from the wistful nostalgia of "Summer Afternoon at St. Michaels, circa 1907," to evening dockside in "Old Town Alexandria by Moonlight," to the muted gray-blues of "The Vanishing Fleet," a tribute to the skipjacks that once plied the bay.

Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, $59.95

Originally published in 1938 and reissued this year in paper by the Johns Hopkins University press, *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland* offers case-study descriptions of such crimes as adultery, profanity, assault, homicide, and witchcraft.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, $14.95

A Mansion in the Mountains: The Story of Moses and Bertha Cone & Their Blowing Rock Manor details the life of one of North Carolina's major textile manufacturers and one of the nation's largest producers of denim. Written by Philip T. Noblitt, the book provides a view into the operation of the Cone mills and villages as well as the social life of Cone's turn-of-the-century mansion. Noblitt's well-researched book also describes Cone's decision to expand into clothing manufacture, and his establishment of a business in Baltimore, "Cone Brothers, Lowman and Burger Clothing Manufactures," on West Baltimore Street. Moses Cone was also the Brother of Claribel and Etta Cone, who were to gain renown as early collectors of Impressionist art.

Parkway Publishers, Inc., $14.95

Authors Harry C. Boyle and Nancy N. Kari propose in *Building America: The Democratic Promise of Public Work*, that public work is a means of revitalizing democracy. The authors argue that such problems as declining voluntarism and widespread distrust of government, are symptoms of a deeper malaise: the loss of the civic meaning of work. Their premise is that through public projects such as the 1930s Civilian Conservation Corps, diverse communities can forge connections and gain a stake in nation-building. The book is an interesting synthesis of the concepts of new Deal public works and of traditional republicanism, which placed high value on the common weal, and active civic participation.

Temple University Press, $18.95 (paper)

One major difficulty of conducting historical research is in locating unpublished documents that have fallen into the hands of private collectors. Fortunately for researchers interested in Maryland during the Civil War, author Keith O. Gary has made his collection available in *Answering the Call: The Organization and Recruiting of the Potomac Home Brigade, Maryland Volunteers, Summer and Fall, 1861.* A straightforward compilation of lists, the book attempts no narrative that would place these troops into the overall context of the Civil War. The author does note that the first regiment of the brigade did fight at Maryland Heights near Harpers Ferry in 1862, at Gettysburg, and at Monocacy.

Heritage Books, Inc. $22.00

Peter Maynard's *Wever of the B&O Railroad—and Weverton*, outlines the life and work of engineer Casper Wever, who was involved in the building of the B&O and also attempted to establish an industrial town known as Weverton, on the banks of the Potomac River. But Wever was a controversial figure, and the quality of his work was challenged in 1834 when civil engineer Benjamin H. Latrobe charged that Wever's work on the piers of the Potomac River Bridge at Harpers Ferry had left the bridge structurally unstable, as apparently it was. Wever was an experienced builder, but his accomplishments remain the object of dispute by other historians. James Dilts, author of the definitive early history of the B&O, found him to be an "avaricious and unprincipled self-aggrandizer."

The Brunswick Historical Press, $8.95 (paper) plus $1.50 s&h

Originally published in 1891 and recently re-issued under the Maryland Paperback Bookshelf series, *The Oyster: A Popular Summary of a Scientific Study*, was a prescient study that brings insight to the current debate over the proper management of the Chesapeake Bay ecosystem. In addition to chapters on the biology and life-cycles of this bivalve, author William K. Brooks discussed the problems of declining yields and the over-harvesting of the oyster crop, issues which continue to be debated today by Eastern Shore watermen, the Maryland Department of Natural Resources, and others.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, $14.95 (paper)

The National Portrait Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution, in conjunction with the Yale University Press, has just released *Charles Willson Peale: His Last years, 1821–1827*, the fourth and final volume of their series, *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*. This collection chronicles the artist's struggle with deteriorating health and the hardships of his family as they endured a financial panic, depression, and the instability of the period.

Yale University Press, $100.00

D.B.S.

In the Mail

Editor:

Paul W. Wirtz has done a service in his letter in the Fall 1996 issue correcting the unfortunate historical error in Jill Jonnes's otherwise competent article, "Everybody Must Get Stoned" in the summer issue. As one who grew up in Baltimore and vicinity and often rode streetcars, I reinforce what Mr. Wirtz writes. Early in life I became conscious of racial inequality and one of my prides was that Baltimore was not "southern" in the sense that the usual rules of segregation further south were never imposed here. As a matter of fact Baltimore seemed to be very much the last northern outpost. I never saw separate restrooms in Baltimore, nor separate drinking fountains or other attributes of instilled—and often legally established—segregation. But as soon as one ventured south into Anne Arundel County this was the case. As Mr. Wirtz points out, the Washington, Baltimore and Annapolis Railroad, running south, did have segregated seating while, significantly, the Northern Central, running north, did not.

I do not mean to sugar-coat our history; Baltimore was not a paradise of equality. After all, the school system was segregated and, for example, black citizens were not welcome in the better department stores. But I write to add my correction to the record, with this particular concern: The *Maryland Historical Magazine* is the periodical of record in the Free State. Thus I can envision a future reader coming upon Ms. Jonnes's article in the Summer issue and never becoming aware of its error and thus promulgating for all time a myth about Baltimore.

Gwinn Owens
Baltimore

Notices

Historic Annapolis Foundation Sponsors Designer Show House

The Slayton House, located at 112 Duke of Gloucester Street in the Historic District of Annapolis, will be a designer show house this spring. Built in 1774, the Georgian period townhouse will be open for tours from April 18 through May 18, 1997. Admission is $12 for individuals or $10 for participants in group tours. For further information contact the Historic Annapolis Foundation at 410-267-7619.

Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum Sponsors Workshops

In January, the Chesapeake Bay maritime Museum is sponsoring a workshop on waterfowl decoy painting. The workshop is offered by painter Rich Smoker on January 25 and 26, 1997, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. The fee is $90 for members, and $100 for non-members. For information, contact Gwyn Powell at 410-745-2916.

In February the museum is also sponsoring workshops in marine carpentry and lofting (the creation of life-size boat plans from smaller paper versions). The workshops will be taught by instructor John Swain, a boatbuilder with twenty years of experience. In addition, a traditional boatbuilding workshop will be offered during February and continuing into March. The fee for all three workshops is $460 for CBMM members and $570 for non-members.

University of Mississippi's Graduate Conference on Southern History: Call for Papers

The History Department of the University of Mississippi is hosting a Graduate Conference on Southern History, March 21–22, 1997. Professor Leon Litwack, author of *Been in the Storm So Long*, will be the keynote speaker.

Papers concerning all aspects of Southern history from the colonial period to the present are invited, and both M.A. and Ph.D. students are encouraged to submit papers. Applicants should submit a two-page abstract and a brief curriculum vitae by January 15, 1997; completed papers must be submitted by March 7, 1997. For further information, contact Leight McWhite or Ernie Limbo at 601-232-7148, or FAX 601-232-7033.

Maryland Regional Artists, 1880–1930

As part of a comprehensive study, the Baltimore Museum of Art is seeking information about Maryland regional artists working from 1880 to 1930, such as Francis Coates Jones (1857–1932), R. McGill Mackall (1889–1982), Clark

Summers Marshall (1861–1944), Camella Whitehurst (1871–1936), and Samuel Edwin Whiteman (1860–1922). Please forward information regarding the locations of paintings, drawings, or graphics, correspondence, or ephemera to Susan Bollendorf, Research, Department of Painting and Sculpture, The Baltimore Museum of Art, Art Museum Drive, Baltimore, MD 21218. All responses will be held in confidence.

D.B.S.

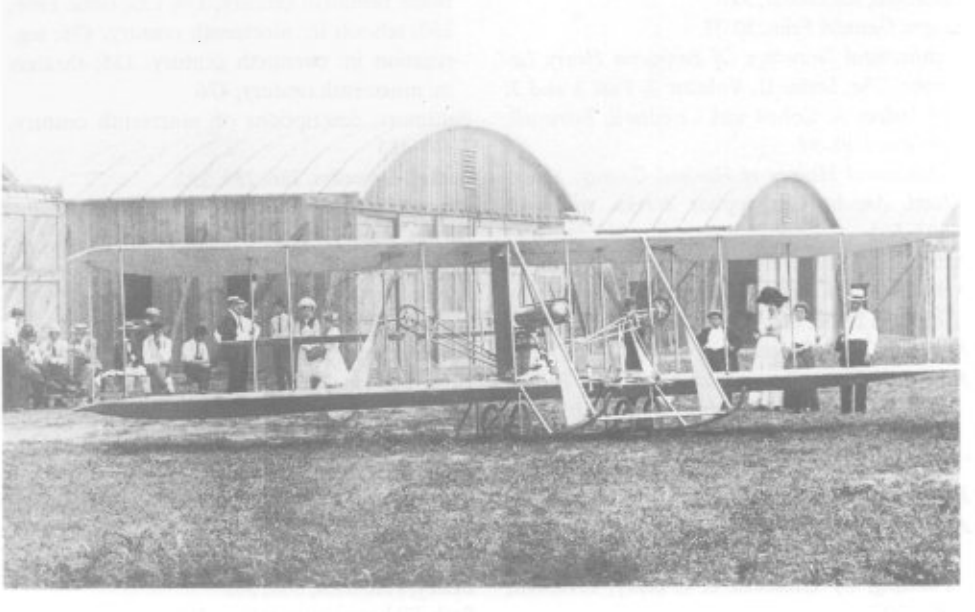
Maryland Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Central Maryland History by identifying the location, date, and historic significance of this site.

The Fall 1996 Picture Puzzle depicts the September 23–25, 1889 Allegany County Centennial held in Cumberland. Interestingly enough, the actual date of the anniversary fell in December; however, because of the Christmas holiday and the harsh weather, the celebration took place in September. The days were picture perfect and the celebration the grandest event held in Cumberland and in Western Maryland. The City decorated with elaborate banners and flags and guests included President Harrison. Activities ranged from the 2,500 school children that marching in time to the bands that played, to stereopticon views taken, and base ball and lawn tennis played. One thousand people were fed at City Hall and in the evening the city was lit by incandescent lights.

Our congratulations to Mr. Percy Martin and Mr. Raymond Martin who correctly identified the Summer 1996 Picture Puzzle.

Please send your answers to: Picture Puzzle, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201



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10. Owner *(If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereafter the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Do Not Leave Blank.)*

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Maryland Historical Society	201 W. Monument St. Baltimore, MD 2120

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13. Publication Name	14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below	
Maryland Historical Magazine	Summer 1995 (July)	
15. Extent and Nature of Circulation	**Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months**	**Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date**
a. Total No. Copies *(Net Press Run)*	5342	5250
b. Paid and/or Requested Circulation (1) Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, and Counter Sales *(Not Mailed)*	91	85
(2) Paid or Requested Mail Subscriptions *(Include Advertisers' Proof Copies/Exchange Copies)*	4582	4385
c. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation *(Sum of 15b(1) and 15b(2))*	4673	4470
d. Free Distribution by Mail *(Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free)*	84	86
e. Free Distribution Outside the Mail *(Carriers or Other Means)*	44	106
f. Total Free Distribution *(Sum of 15d and 15e)*	128	192
g. Total Distribution *(Sum of 15c and 15f)*	4801	4662
h. Copies Not Distributed (1) Office Use, Leftovers, Spoiled	402	632
(2) Return from News Agents	14	6
i. Total *(Sum of 15g, 15h(1), and 15h(2))*	5217	5300
Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation *(15c / 15g x 100)*	97.3	95.9

16. This Statement of Ownership will be printed in the Winter 1996 issue of this publication. ☐ Check box if not required to publish.

17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner — Date

Robert I. Cottom — 12/2/96

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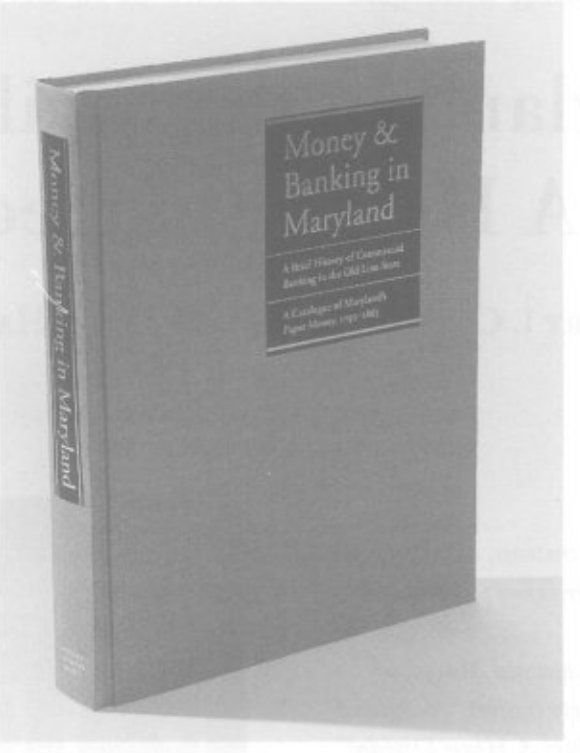

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The Journal of the Maryland Historical Society